

# MID-AMERICA

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# MID-AMERICA

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### Foundations of Catholic Secondary Education in Illinois

#### I

#### CATHOLIC SECONDARY EDUCATION PRIOR TO 1840

Catholic educational activity in America began with the missionaries, whose avowed purpose was to teach. They had come to Christianize and civilize, and they knew that the best way to attain their aim was through the instruction of the children, so the school teacher either accompanied the missionary or was identical with him. Especially was this true of the Spanish missionaries because the law required the establishment of a school in every mission.<sup>1</sup>

Prior to 1606 a classical school had been opened in St. Augustine, Florida. As early as 1630 there were in operation, under the direction of the Franciscans, numerous schools in the pueblos of New Mexico;<sup>2</sup> and before 1776 there were Catholic schools, largely industrial, in Texas, California, St. Louis, Detroit, and Kaskaskia, in charge of the Franciscans and the Jesuits.<sup>3</sup>

As for the schools in the colonies, little can be learned about them because, in the first place, not much was written concerning any of them, and secondly, Catholic education in the colony wherein resided most of the Catholics was penalized for almost a century. However, early in the seventeenth century three Jesuits, obeying the invitation of Governor Dongan, established a classical school in New York;<sup>4</sup> in 1677 they opened a "school for humanities" in Newtown, Maryland, and in 1704 one in

<sup>1</sup> Burns, James A., *Growth and Development of the Catholic Schools in the United States*, New York, 1912, 181-94, gives the Church legislation regarding the establishment of Catholic schools in the United States.

<sup>2</sup> Burns, James A., *Principles, Origin and Establishment of the Catholic School System in the United States*, New York, 1908, 38-44.

<sup>3</sup> Ryan, James H., *Catechism of Catholic Education*, I, 145, 146.

<sup>4</sup> Shea, John Gilmary, *Catholic Church in Colonial Times*, 90 seq.

Bohemia, Maryland. In both places Catholics enjoyed the use of a circulating library provided by the Jesuits.<sup>5</sup>

It is pleasant to note here a condition that impresses one constantly in the study of the Catholic school, namely, the comradeship of many non-Catholics. All the troubles that have disturbed Catholic educators in America have been caused by fanatics—those composing the Public School Society, the American Bible Association, the Know-Nothing Party, the Ku Klux Klan and the American Protestant Association—and not by the real American people. Those who “know Popery” do not hate it; rather have they shown themselves ready to accept the attitude of Catholics on the school question, to show their appreciation of it, and even at times to applaud it.

So it was in Pennsylvania. The Quakers not only showed themselves favorable to Catholics and Catholic schools—they even engaged a “Papist” to teach their school at Chester, much to the undisguised indignation of an Episcopalian minister, whose school was not being patronized. There is a tradition that when the building of a Catholic church at Goshenhoppen was under consideration the generosity of Protestants in helping furnish the means for its erection equalled that of the Catholics.<sup>6</sup>

Doubtless it is due to the friendly attitude of Pennsylvania and to the custom of establishing a school with every parish which was characteristic of German Catholics of whom there were many in that state, as well as to the perseverance of the Jesuits in Maryland and elsewhere, that prior to 1776 there were more than seventy Catholic schools within the present confines of the United States.<sup>7</sup>

In 1789 the See of Baltimore was established and Bishop Carroll assigned to it. Of all the achievements of this truly great man perhaps the most enduring was his insisting upon and fostering the Catholic school system. In his day, and up to 1840, the tone of every school was religious and the prevailing belief among Christians was that religious training is necessary to good citizenship.

## II

### CATHOLIC SECONDARY EDUCATION IN ILLINOIS PRIOR TO 1840

Our immediate concern is with the development of Catholic

<sup>5</sup> Burns, *Principles, Origin and Establishment of the Catholic School System in the United States*, 102-15.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 120 seq.

<sup>7</sup> Ryan, *op. cit.*, I, 2.



secondary education, particularly in Illinois. Until recent years the Catholic school movement in all the Middle Western states has advanced more or less evenly; however, since the beginning of the great high-school movement, Illinois has assumed a leading place; so she offers a fertile field for research, even though it is particularly difficult to obtain data about the schools of the early period. In those days, the attention of the brotherhoods and sisterhoods was focused upon the establishing and maintaining of the schools rather than upon the handing down of statistics. It is especially hard to secure definite information about secondary schools. Doubtless, the authorities in these institutions felt that since they were private there was no good reason why their workings should be made public.

However, it seems that the academies which were established in such numbers by the Sisters in Illinois, and the colleges of the priests and Brothers, maintained a secondary department that was changed very little in curriculum when they were transformed into high schools.

The high school of the United States is unique in its function. It was preceded by the academy and the college, the former furnishing primary and secondary instruction and the latter secondary and collegiate work. While the academy confined itself almost entirely to cultural education, and was generally a private enterprise, and the preparatory department of the college was designed to lead the student directly into the college, the high school has an independent function. Many of the pupils pursuing secondary education do not intend to go to college, so for them it is a finishing school, and as such should be adapted to their immediate needs. Hence high schools have developed commercial, normal and other vocational departments, and the Catholic academies and college preparatory schools, have kept pace with the public schools in so far as that has been necessary for the advantage of the pupil and the high standing of the institution.

The hills and valleys and prairies of the Middle West are eloquent of Catholicism. They tell us of the thrilling adventures of the missionaries and of the life-long struggles of the pioneers in the days following the Revolution. The population of the newly acquired region was largely Catholic, in some places entirely so,<sup>8</sup> and at least after 1819 many Irish and Germans of

<sup>8</sup> Burns, *Principles, Origin and Establishment of the Catholic School System in the United States*, 166.

the Old Faith came.<sup>9</sup> A Catholic opened the first school in Kentucky;<sup>10</sup> Vincennes had a Catholic school in 1786;<sup>11</sup> and by 1809 there was a Catholic school system in Michigan.<sup>12</sup> But the Jesuits were teaching in Illinois more than a century earlier.

On Holy Thursday of 1675 Father Marquette officially established the Church in Illinois, in the presence of about three thousand Indians, but prior to that he and his companions had taught in Illinois.<sup>13</sup> In 1696 there was a Jesuit school at the Guardian Angel mission on the present site of Chicago. The Fathers instructed many and entertained high hopes of metamorphosing the Miami Indians into an entirely Christian people.<sup>14</sup> Although circumstances obliged them to leave this particular mission in 1700, by 1721 they had opened a "Jesuit College" at Kaskaskia. A few years later, this, the first college in the Illinois country, was chartered by the French government.<sup>15</sup> Not only did members of the Order teach here; they also supplied teachers to the neighboring schools. It is probable that after their suppression the regular school was discontinued.<sup>16</sup>

In the page of Illinois history that begins with the opening up of the great Northwest, we read of struggle and privation and discouragement; but withal it is an illuminated page. The Illinois country was the land of hope and we can read its story today by the light of marvelous achievement.

One of the most interesting events in the early history of the State, an event that is tragic and yet beautiful, is the coming of the Trappists to Monks Mound in Cahokia.<sup>17</sup> These Cistercians had been driven out of France by the Revolution, had come to Baltimore and had been kindly received. They had traveled thence to Kentucky and from there to Illinois, where

<sup>9</sup> Thompson, J. J., "The Double Jubilee," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, III, 1921, 6, 7.

<sup>10</sup> Burns, *Principles, Origin and Establishment of the Catholic School System in the United States*, 175.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 88.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 179-99.

<sup>13</sup> Thompson, J. J., *Diamond Jubilee of the Archdiocese of Chicago*, Desplaines, Illinois, 1920, 9.

<sup>14</sup> Garraghan, G. J., *Catholic Church in Chicago*, Chicago, 1921, 13.

<sup>15</sup> Buehler, Sister Johannita, "Present Status of Catholic Education in Illinois," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, V, January, 1924, 151; Haffey, Sister Marie, *Secondary and Collegiate Education in Illinois*, 5.

<sup>16</sup> Burns, *Principles, Origin and Establishment of the Catholic School System in the United States*, 86; Thompson, *Diamond Jubilee of the Archdiocese of Chicago*, 671.

<sup>17</sup> Garraghan, G. J., *Chapters in Frontier History*, Milwaukee (Bruce), 1934, 94 seq. tells the story of Monks Mound.

they were befriended by Governor Edwards. Their choice of location, among the Indian Mounds not far from St. Louis, seems to have been ideal. The vast prairies of rich soil were easy to cultivate, while the streams, according to the report of one of the monks, were "so full of fish that a blind man could not help but spear a big fish, if he tried."

By 1810 they had established a church, Notre Dame de Bon Secours, a free school, and a community house, and were cultivating the soil and serving the sick and poor. But they needed more land; so petitioned Congress for a grant by free cession or by purchase, of 4,000 acres in the vicinity of their Mound. The refusal that was returned to them was the first of a series of misfortunes. Sickness, plague, failure of crops, earthquake, and general distress finally obliged them to sell their belongings in 1813 and return to the East.<sup>18</sup>

The story of the Visitation Academy opened in Kaskaskia in 1833 is well known. What we do not always remember is that this was the pioneer school for higher education of women in mid-America.<sup>19</sup> In 1844, hampered in their work by a dearth of Sisters and deprived of their home by the Mississippi flood, the Community accepted the invitation of Bishop Kenrick and removed to St. Louis.<sup>20</sup> In 1899 they returned to Illinois and opened an academy in Rock Island.

Almost contemporaneous with the establishment of the Academy of the Visitation was the opening of one by the Sisters of St. Joseph, four of whom left France in response to the appeal of Bishop Rosati of St. Louis, and in 1838 with twenty-five pupils opened an academy and parochial school in Cahokia.<sup>21</sup>

In Chicago after 1829 the increase in population was so rapid that an appeal made by the Catholics for a resident priest was granted and the first church in Chicago, St. Mary's, was erected in 1833.<sup>22</sup>

It is interesting to note that before 1833 the Potawatomi Indians had asked and obtained permission from the President of the United States to donate to the Roman Catholic Church four sections of their land "for the purpose of establishing a seminary

<sup>18</sup> Thompson, *Diamond Jubilee of the Archdiocese of Chicago*, 157; Alvord, C. W., *Centennial History of Illinois*, 457.

<sup>19</sup> Buehler, *Sister Johannita*, op. cit., 151.

<sup>20</sup> Burns, *Principles, Origin and Establishment of the Catholic School System in the United States*, 308 seq.

<sup>21</sup> Burns, *Growth and Development of the Catholic Schools in the United States*, 310.

<sup>22</sup> Garraghan, *The Catholic Church in Chicago*, 64.

of learning." It is not known why the statement of this intention was not embodied in the treaty of 1833, but because of the omission no advantage ever accrued from it to the Church.<sup>23</sup>

### III

#### CATHOLIC SECONDARY EDUCATION IN ILLINOIS 1840-1884

In tracing the development of the Catholic high school in Illinois since 1840 we observe that as is the case with the public high school, there are distinct periods marking the several stages of development. During the first period, 1840 to 1884, the public high school saw its rise and gradual development into a distinct educational unit in organic relationship with the elementary school, but generally speaking the academy and college preparatory department continued to provide Catholic secondary education.

The second period was inaugurated by the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1884. The effect of the school decrees of the Council was the transformation of many academies into high schools and the rapid development of the parochial high school. The Catholic Educational Exhibit of 1893, as part of the World's Columbian Exposition, gave impetus to the movement, and between 1884 and 1900 many parish schools added at least one year, some of them four years, of high-school work to their curriculum. The chief reason for this was the desire to retain the pupils as long as possible in the Catholic school and a considerable number found it impossible to go from the parish school to the academies and colleges. However, many of these attempts to offer secondary education were short lived because of lack of adequate financial support, and by 1900 the great need of central high schools was organized. The third period, therefore, embraces the development from 1900 to the present time and it need not be touched in the present treatment. Suffice it to say that during this time the academy and college preparatory school continued to function, but the outstanding educational advance of the Church has been the establishment and organization of the central and community high schools.

The history of the schools is so intimately connected with the history of the various religious communities which organized them that it will be necessary to offer a brief sketch of these latter. They are introduced to the reader in the order in which they began their work in Illinois.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 59.



With the erection of Chicago to the status of a diocesan see in 1844 and with the appointment of Bishop Quarter for its administration, the history of the Catholic high school in Illinois begins. The growth of the Catholic school system in this state since its humble beginnings in the early forties of the past century is one of the great religious factors of the history of the state. The story is one of struggle, persistent growth and progress, and the eventual structure of Catholic education of today fills the heart of the Catholic with love for the Church which fostered the difficult growth and for the state which encouraged it. The story is one of adherence to principle in the presence of well-nigh insurmountable obstacles, but it is also the story of kindly co-operation.

As an outcome of the religious liberty enjoyed under the Constitution of the United States there are today 7,442 Catholic parochial schools in operation with a total enrollment of 2,209,673 children, or about ten per centum of the Catholic population. There is a teaching force for these institutions of some 60,000. The number of high schools exclusive of the academies and college preparatories is 1,134 and the total number of students is 186,948. In Illinois there are seventy-five high schools under Church auspices and sixty-four colleges and academies. Approximately ten per centum of the total enrollment of students in Catholic high schools and academies are enrolled in Illinois.<sup>24</sup>

This is a long cry from 1840 when in the adjacent state of Indiana there was a college for boys and an academy for girls at Vincennes and when the See at Vincennes administered Church affairs for the eastern part of Illinois.<sup>25</sup> In that same year there was a Catholic day school at La Salle under the supervision of Rev. Blasius Raho and another at Kahokia under Rev. Regis Loisel, with a certain Mr. O'Flinn as teacher. The priests belonged to the St. Louis Diocese.<sup>26</sup> Missouri was far in the lead in the matter of academies, for only two were in operation in Illinois, one at Kaskaskia and one at Kahokia, as will appear in another connection.<sup>27</sup> If the Catholic youth of Illinois wished to pursue studies in a Catholic institution close to their home state, they would have to go to Kentucky, Indiana or Missouri. Within ten years, or in 1850, the Diocese of Chicago

<sup>24</sup> *Catholic Directory*, 1935, chart after p. 997. The summary for the Archdiocese of Chicago, the Dioceses of Belleville, Peoria, Rockford and Springfield.

<sup>25</sup> *Catholic Almanac for 1840*, 101-03.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 114.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 117, 118.

comprised the whole state of Illinois and was under the able Bishop James O. Van de Velde.<sup>28</sup> At that time the Catholics had one university, one preparatory school for boys and five academies for girls.<sup>29</sup> In 1870 the Diocese of Chicago had two colleges and four academies for boys and twenty academies for girls,<sup>30</sup> while the Alton Diocese of the lower half of the state could name two colleges for young men, two preparatory schools for boys and six academies for girls.<sup>31</sup>

While the State after 1824 was endeavoring with little success to inaugurate an adequate public school system, great numbers of Irish and German Catholic immigrants were coming to Illinois, making the problem of supplying priests and teachers a serious one. Between 1840 and 1860 the number of dioceses in the United States was almost doubled, and nearly all the new ones were west of the Alleghanies.<sup>32</sup> It was therefore as much the urgent appeals of the newly appointed bishops, as the persecution being waged in the mother-country that brought religious teachers to our shores and across the mountains in such large numbers, and resulted in the rapid up-building of the schools.<sup>33</sup> The settlements to which they went at first were, for the most part, Irish, German or French.<sup>34</sup>

Evidence that many German Catholics came to Illinois is found in a letter from Bishop Quarter to the Leopoldine Association in Vienna, dated 1846, in which he begged for German priests. He declared that of the 55,000 Catholics in Illinois, about 28,000 were Germans, principally from Westphalia and the Kingdom of Bavaria.<sup>35</sup> In 1848 he made another such appeal, citing the need of one German parish that in ten years had grown from 22 to 2,270 persons, and said that there were twenty-five other settlements that had grown with like rapidity, and that for want of priests could not be organized into parishes.<sup>36</sup>

Mention should be made here of the generous aid that was given to these western dioceses by European countries, especially France and Austria. The majority of the early settlers were

<sup>28</sup> *Catholic Almanac for 1850*, 112.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 116-19.

<sup>30</sup> *Catholic Almanac for 1870*, 152, 153, 156.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 126.

<sup>32</sup> *Catholic Almanac*, for 1840 and 1860.

<sup>33</sup> O'Dwyer, G. F., "Irish Colonization in Illinois," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, 1920.

<sup>34</sup> Onahan, William J., "Irish Colonization in Illinois," *Catholic Fireside*, 1881, 17.

<sup>35</sup> Thompson, *Diamond Jubilee of the Archdiocese of Chicago*, 25.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 175-77.



poor, and notwithstanding their sacrifices, without such aid they could not have built their churches and schools. Chief among the European mission-aid societies were the French Propagation of the Faith Society, founded at Lyons in 1822, and the Austrian, known as the Leopoldine Association. This latter collected and sent to the "foreign missions" of America \$220,000 between the years 1829 and 1839. In those days that was an immense sum. Besides this, every few months they sent packages of books, chalices, vestments, paintings, and other church and school furnishings, even bells. Best of all, they sent priests and sisters. By 1891, 500 or more Austrian and German priests had submitted to voluntary exile in order to labor in the Middle West.<sup>37</sup> Of course the Kulturkampf drove some of them from Germany; it was the Revolution that sent the French priests. A considerable number of the latter came to eastern Illinois, where in 1847 many French Canadians had settled on the rich lands surrounding Bourbonnais Grove, in what is now Kankakee County. Bourbonnais itself, St. George, Manteno, Momence, Kankakee, and St. Anne were all Catholic settlements.<sup>38</sup>

During this period there was a general demand for academies, and Catholics as a body were perfectly agreed as to the necessity for Catholic academies and schools and continued to erect them. In the midst of the noise and agitation that characterized the extensive public educational movement of the time the great monument of Christian devotion to Christian ideals was builded as noiselessly as was the first great Temple of God. "It was out of self-sacrifice that the solid structure of Catholic education was everywhere raised. The ideal was—a Catholic school and a Catholic training from start to finish for every Catholic child;<sup>39</sup> and in the cherishing of this ideal Catholic Illinois stands pre-eminent. The Catholics of the Middle West were as uncompromising then as now in their contention that the Christian school is necessary to the life of a Christian people. Bishops and priests did not rest, and the people were unsatisfied until the Sisters or the Brothers had come to minister to the little ones; and no seeker of treasure ever entered the

<sup>37</sup> Epstein, F. J., "The Leopoldine Association," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, III, 88. See also "The Leopoldine Foundation and the Church in the United States," by Theodore Roemer, O. M. Cap., in the *United States Historical Monograph Series*, XIII, New York, 1933.

<sup>38</sup> Thompson, *Diamond Jubilee of the Archdiocese of Chicago*, 251.

<sup>39</sup> Burns, *Growth and Development of the Catholic Schools in the United States*, 17.

gold fields with more zest than that which animated these seekers of souls.

After 1840 practically all the teachers in the Catholic schools of Illinois were religious, so it is with them that we are most concerned: with their small beginnings and their almost miraculous development, the two leading features of which are labor and adaptation. Justly has it been said that the "Communities worked only as pioneers can, and only pioneers themselves, in a vast wilderness like the Middle West in 1850, can understand the magnitude of the labor. History records nothing so colossal for so brief a time. Besides outside labor, there was the strenuous struggle to adapt the interior life of the Community to the novel situation. In both they succeeded admirably with little notice, encouragement, or approbation from the world. Their great work praises them as can nothing else."<sup>40</sup>

The annals of the communities are filled with the records of experiences that would have daunted many a stout heart, and meant the failure of the work had the actuating motive been less compelling.<sup>41</sup> There are many accounts of wearisome journeys, of sickness and poverty and disappointment, but there is never a word of regret. They had offered their all and were happy to find themselves taken at their word.

With all its hardship there must have been a certain joy in such experiences as the following, recounted of three Sisters who, in 1820, left the Motherhouse and set out across the prairies for the purpose of opening a new school. The experience was no uncommon one; it differs only in the details from many another, and it may serve to give one some idea of the life of the pioneer Sister of a hundred years ago:

"They traveled on horseback, carrying across their saddles their work aprons, transformed into bags, which contained their clothing, a few kitchen utensils, and class-room accessories. They received generous hospitality in one farm-house or another, where they stopped on the way for a noon meal or a night's lodging. At the end of their journey, they found that the house destined for them had not been vacated, and after their long ride, they had to clean a long-unused log hut before

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<sup>40</sup> *Catholic Church in the United States*, 3 volumes, Catholic Editing Company, New York, 1912, II, 7. There are no indications in these volumes of the authorship.

<sup>41</sup> Many sources exist in the houses of these various religious communities. The materials, manuscript in general, are uncatalogued as yet. Some letters have been published as indicated.

they could rest. This hut was their dwelling for some months. They taught out of doors when the weather permitted."<sup>42</sup>

We read of a band of youthful Jesuits who "lived their first session in a cabin of one room and an attic. The room, sixteen by eighteen feet, divided in two by a screen, served as a pastoral residence and a chapel; the garret, not tall enough for a man to stand erect in, was the dormitory of the young disciples."<sup>43</sup> So it was with all. Time and again we read of Sisters transforming themselves into masons and carpenters, and the shanties intended for their use into academies and convents. Nevertheless the number of workers grew, and the work went steadily on.

In 1838 Bishop Bruté of St. Louis, after a visit to the thriving town of Chicago, wrote, "I dream of Sisters here!" But it was left to Bishop Quarter to bring them. His first work in higher education however was his founding the University of St. Mary of the Lake. Few people who pause to marvel at the beauty and completeness of Chicago's seminary of today know that it was founded on a charter granted three quarters of a century earlier to the first Bishop of Chicago, who in those far-off days dreamed of a great university which should be a home of learning unequalled in excellence and fruitfulness.

Bishop Quarter's school, as established in 1844, was the first high school in Chicago. In December of that year a remarkably liberal charter was secured from the state legislature and in 1846, the new building having been completed, the combination university and seminary began its career with two professors, two instructors, and sixteen pupils. So successful was it that at the death of Bishop Quarter in 1848 it could boast of eleven professors, four tutors, one hundred and twenty-five students, and a course that was surprisingly complete.<sup>44</sup>

We are not here particularly concerned with the life of this institution except for the period of five years (1856-1861) during which the Fathers of the Holy Cross from Notre Dame University assumed control and, according to agreement, conducted it simply as a high school,<sup>45</sup> and the year 1865 when a high-school department, school within a school, was again introduced and taught successfully. But as before, the institution became

<sup>42</sup> *Catholic Church in the United States*, II, 445.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 286.

<sup>44</sup> Thompson, J. J., "University of St. Mary's of the Lake," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, 1919, 135.

<sup>45</sup> Garraghan, *Catholic Church in Chicago*, 211 seq.

the victim of financial difficulties, and was definitely closed in 1866. Brothers and Sisters of the Holy Cross had come with the Fathers in 1856 and had taken charge of various parishes in the city. The Sisters conducted also a select school for girls.<sup>46</sup> All were recalled to Notre Dame in 1861.<sup>47</sup> The Brothers opened Holy Trinity High School in Chicago in 1910.<sup>48</sup>

It was also during Bishop Quarter's brief tenure that Chicago welcomed the Sisters of Mercy. By 1846 his boys' school was flourishing, and he had resolved upon one for girls, so a petition was sent to the Sisters of Mercy, a community lately arrived in Pittsburgh from Ireland. The same year saw the Sisters in possession of the Bishop's residence, which he had vacated for them. This act of his, the record of which can be made in so few words, is indicative of the spirit of sacrifice that made Bishop Quarter great. From one source we learn that the Sisters took up their abode at first in a "wretched little house,"<sup>49</sup> and from another that the Bishop gave up to them his residence. "Poor as it was," comments the chronicler, "it was a palace compared to the one to which he, himself, removed when he resigned it to them for their convent."<sup>50</sup>

Looking back, it is hard for us to realize what this venture meant to the Sisters. A contemporary writer evidently had some conception of it. "Bishop Quarter," he says, "is bringing a colony of Sisters to his Episcopal City of Chicago on frozen Lake Michigan. God help the Sisters! Between the Indians and the Squatters who are rushing out there in thousands to starve on the prairies, they will have a hard time of it."<sup>51</sup> However, they proved themselves equal to the situation. The Indians were not so formidable after all. Two daughters of a chief of the Potowatomies were pupils in their academy in the early Fifties and won for themselves the reputation of being the best behaved girls in the school.<sup>52</sup> As for the "squatters," they supported the Sisters' efforts so generously that within a few years they found themselves in charge of an academy, a working girls' home, an orphanage, a hospital, five parochial schools,

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

<sup>47</sup> Thompson, "University of St. Mary's of the Lake," 146 seq.

<sup>48</sup> High School Catalogue, 1926-1927; Thompson, *Diamond Jubilee of the Archdiocese of Chicago*, 427.

<sup>49</sup> Burns, *Growth and Development of the Catholic Schools in the United States*, 50.

<sup>50</sup> Thompson, *Diamond Jubilee of the Archdiocese of Chicago*, 24.

<sup>51</sup> Sister of Mercy, *Life of Mary Monholland*, 19.

<sup>52</sup> Garraghan, *Catholic Church in Chicago*, 41.

a night school for adults, a training school for nurses, and a Catholic college.<sup>53</sup>

In St. Francis Xavier's Academy, the first opened by the Sisters, the curriculum embraced both English and scientific courses, besides Latin, French, German, music, drawing, painting in oil and water color, and needle work.<sup>54</sup> In 1872 stenography and typewriting were also being taught.

There can be no doubt of the efficiency of the instruction given. Shortly after the opening of the school the Sisters had a considerable collection of home-made apparatus. For example, they sketched a series of maps on parchment that had been sent to them from Ireland, and for globes, stretched parchment maps of the hemispheres on sphere-frames of willow branches. Squares of planed timber fastened to the wall and painted served for blackboard, and numeral frames were made of painted spools strung on wires stretched horizontally on an elm frame-work. "The community room, with its rough board walls, was a veritable ware-house of school supplies. In variety and design to suit all wants might be seen handmade maps and charts, solar systems and globes, ball frames and color plans; squares, cubes, cones, cylinders, and all the necessities for teaching form; collections of minerals, sponges, coral, etc.; and specimens of the vegetable kingdom for object-lessons; cardboard, paints, brushes, mucilage, scrap-books, and other paraphernalia." Among their first pupils were the children of hardy settlers and sea-faring men, of border-men and trappers. A class of Indians came faithfully for instruction in Christian Doctrine.<sup>55</sup>

Certainly the academy of the Sisters was not "aristocratic." It is not true that "only those able to pay the stipulated entrance fee could even gain admittance to its sacred walls."<sup>56</sup> One of the most remarkable things about the Catholic schools from the very beginning has been their moderate fee, and their willingness to take pupils who are unable to pay. This will be noted presently in the study of the early Jesuit schools.

Nor were the Sisters satisfied with merely teaching. One of them constituted herself both surgeon and physician. There

<sup>53</sup> Thompson, *Diamond Jubilee of the Archdiocese of Chicago*, 24.

<sup>54</sup> *Catalogue of Catholic Educational Exhibit*, C. M. Staiger, printer, Chicago, 1893, 62.

<sup>55</sup> Burns, *Growth and Development of the Catholic Schools in the United States*, 132 seq.

<sup>56</sup> More, C. B., *High School in Illinois since 1860*, Unpublished Masters' Thesis, University of Illinois.



were few doctors in Chicago in the forties, so she stocked a medicine chest with such drugs as an unlicensed pharmacist might safely dispense, and cared for the ills of the Sisters and pupils.<sup>57</sup>

Within ten years the Sisters of Mercy had established two more academies in Chicago<sup>58</sup>—a remarkable record for people and Sisters when we consider the paucity of means at their disposal. Since then the Sisters have achieved prominence in Chicago as teachers. Among their high schools which had a flourishing, though temporary, existence may be listed St. Elizabeth's, that offered a full academic course in 1888, St. Gabriel's that was opened in 1896 as a free school and that received 350 students into its new building in 1905,<sup>59</sup> and St. Ita's, that was opened in 1909.<sup>60</sup> All three were parochial high schools. At various times either because the financial burden of their support weighed too heavily upon the parish, or because of the erection of central high schools, these earlier establishments have been obliged to suspend operation. When Cardinal Mundelein determined upon the establishment of central high schools for girls throughout Chicago it was fitting that this pioneer community should be asked to erect one of them. Mercy High School, which was dedicated in 1924, is beautiful, modern, spacious, and in every respect a perfectly appointed high school.

In telling the story of the many communities that came to make Illinois their home, not all can be given in detail. However, since practically all the Catholic schools after 1840 were taught by religious whose institutes formed the only unit of organization there was, and since their growth meant the growth of the school, the history of the one is the history of the other. There were many religious in Europe, particularly in France and Germany in 1840 and they most generously responded to the call of the West. At the same time, many American orders were established for the express purpose of taking charge of the schools, which were the need of the hour.

One of the earliest sites of Catholic activity outside Chicago was the romantic town of Nauvoo (Pleasant Land). The name generally recalls to mind the Mormons and their "Prophet," but two decades before the building of the Temple the place had been frequently visited by missionary Fathers, who traveled

<sup>57</sup> Sister of Mercy, *Life of Mary Monholland*, 19.

<sup>58</sup> Garraghan, *Catholic Church in Chicago*, 209.

<sup>59</sup> Thompson, *Diamond Jubilee of the Archdiocese of Chicago*, 477.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 582.



from St. Louis on horseback, carrying in their saddle bags a supply of corn-bread and the necessities for offering the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass.

In 1848 after the departure of the Mormons, the Catholics opened their first school, of which SS. Peter's and Paul's High School of today is the descendant. The teaching was done, it seems, by a certain Martin Griffith, who "calmly smoked a corn-cob pipe and administered correction as it was needed." Arithmetic and reading were his specialties and he called in his brother, the pastor, when it was time for instruction in writing. It is remarked that despite the methods, "with the aid of the priest, Mr. Griffith succeeded in turning out some pretty good students."<sup>61</sup>

In the year 1925 the Benedictine Sisters conducted two high schools in Nauvoo, besides six others in the state. The best known was St. Scholastica's in Chicago. Its life-history is similar to that of many another. Opened in 1865, by 1870 it was able to send out colonies to parishes that were calling for Sisters. Nauvoo was supplied in 1870. In 1871 the Great Fire demolished the Chicago school, but in 1872 there was a new building, with classes again in progress.<sup>62</sup>

The year 1857 brought to Illinois two communities famous in the earliest annals of the United States—the Jesuits and the Ursulines. Teachers of the Society of Jesus had entered the Mississippi Valley in 1823. In 1832 they secured a charter for the University of St. Louis, which enjoys the distinction of being the oldest university within the territory of the Louisiana Purchase.<sup>63</sup> During the next few years colleges, all of which maintained preparatory departments, appeared as if by magic, and before 1832 the Society was directing several embryo universities—St. Xavier's in Cincinnati, Creighton in Omaha, Marquette in Milwaukee, Detroit in Michigan, and St. Ignatius in Chicago.<sup>64</sup>

To Father Damen, S. J., is due most of the credit for this last, as it was he who organized the church and schools of Holy Family Parish. In 1857 he chose a site for the church "away out on the prairie" and when his friends wondered, he said,

<sup>61</sup> Thompson, *Diamond Jubilee of the Archdiocese of Chicago*, 169-71.

<sup>62</sup> Burns, *Growth and Development of the Catholic Schools in the United States*, 87.

<sup>63</sup> *The Catholic Church in the United States*, I, 269.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, loc. cit. For the curricula of this and of the other Jesuit schools in the Mid-West see McGucken, William J., *The Jesuits and Education*, Milwaukee, 1932, 169 seq.

"Never mind, I will bring the people."—And he did. By the end of the year the church building was started and he was planning schools.<sup>65</sup>

At that time St. Patrick's, in charge of the Brothers of the Holy Cross, was the only school on the West Side, and within the confines of the Holy Family parish there was but one public school, "the old Foster school." Schools were therefore an absolute necessity, so the intrepid Father Damen converted the wings of the temporary church into a boys' and a girls' school. When the permanent church was ready in 1860, the entire old building was used for school purposes and a select day school for boys and an evening school for men and boys were opened.

As an instance of the adaptability of those early teachers it is recorded that the school building was burned on May 10, 1864, that the classes were resumed on May 15 in the basement of the church, and that a new school, erected at the cost of \$75,000 was ready for occupancy in January, 1865. For thirty years thereafter this "Brothers' School," as it was called, was a community center for the parish. By 1863 Brother O'Neill had organized a band, and later, a company of cadets and zouaves. A remarkable fact about the school was that it was supported entirely by voluntary payment of tuition. Parents contributed according to their means and inclination; many students who were unable to pay were admitted free without any distinctions being made. "No one but the director knew which pupils were and which were not free."<sup>66</sup>

St. Ignatius' College was opened in 1870 with an enrollment of thirty-seven—the following year the number had been multiplied by four. The course of six years was increased to seven, then to eight years; the departments, preparatory, high school and college, were carefully differentiated, and in spite of low tuition (and much education gratis), undermanned staff, and insufficient funds, they have managed from their earliest days to meet all educational requirements. In 1888 the students were editing a school magazine; several years later they had formed debating and dramatic societies and a school orchestra.<sup>67</sup>

Father Damen's establishments for girls fared equally well. In three years he had built up a "whole circuit of efficient

<sup>65</sup> Shea, *Catholic Church in the United States*, II, 618.

<sup>66</sup> Mulkerins, Brother Thomas, *The Holy Family Parish*, Universal Press, Chicago, 1923, 412.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 412 seq.

schools"<sup>68</sup> that in 1893 had a total enrollment of nearly 4,000, and at the World's Columbian Exposition were pronounced by Cardinal Gibbons to be the "banner schools of America."<sup>69</sup> All except St. Ignatius High School and College were taught by the Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

This is an American community founded by Reverend Terence Donoghue, who organized into a religious congregation five young women who came from Ireland in 1832 with the intention of opening a religious school. Soon after, he received a request from Bishop Hughes of New York to remove thither with his Sisters, and simultaneously, one from Bishop Loras in the West.<sup>70</sup>

Father de Smet, the well-known missionary Jesuit, had visited the Sisters and had so awakened their enthusiasm and enkindled their ardor with his stirring tales that all were eager for the West. It was decided that they go, and in 1843 they established themselves in Iowa and opened a novitiate and academy. The latter developed into Mount St. Joseph College, now known as Clarke College, one of the foremost institutions of higher education for women in the West. Through its affiliations the graduates of the college at the present time are entitled to register for higher degrees in the graduate schools of America and Europe. In 1930, at the request of Cardinal Mundelein, they opened Mundelein College in Chicago.

Father Damen, while engaged in the mission field of Iowa, became acquainted with the work of these Sisters and so when his schools were ready he asked them to take charge of them. One, which later became the Sacred Heart School, with elementary, secondary and commercial departments, was opened in 1867 by two Sisters with 150 pupils in a one-story frame building divided into two rooms. Soon there were registered 700 and later 800 students; in 1878 there were 950 in attendance.

The other school, St. Aloysius, taken charge of on the same day, and soon to develop a high-school department also, was an unused chair factory, fitted up by Father Damen for school purposes. At times there was an attendance of 1,200 girls. The high-school departments of both these schools were closed in

<sup>68</sup> Cook, John W., *Educational History of Illinois*, 341.

<sup>69</sup> Mulkerins, *op. cit.*, 186.

<sup>70</sup> Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, *In the Early Days*, Second Edition, St. Louis, 1925, 25 seq.

1899 when the community in charge opened St. Mary's, a central high school for girls of the West Side.

From the convent of St. Aloysius, later known as Holy Family Convent, the Sisters attended the other three schools of the parish, St. Agnes, St. Joseph's, and the Guardian Angel.<sup>71</sup> The community maintained a high-school department in other schools in Chicago until such time as the central high-school system caused their discontinuance or the parish was unable to support them. In most of these, particularly after 1871, there were commercial classes, and from the beginning, music and art were taught.<sup>72</sup>

The introduction of the Sisters into Elgin was rather unusual even for the seventies. It seems a school had been started and the parish could not see its way to finishing it, so the pastor, in 1877, asked the superiors of this community to assume the debt and complete the construction of the academy—which they did.<sup>73</sup>

In Rock Island in 1881 they established a four-year high school. Two girls formed the first graduating class, in 1885; in 1927 there were thirty-four, seventeen boys and seventeen girls. The early course of study for this school, obligatory in its entirety upon all students, is available: English, general history, algebra (2 years), geometry (plane and solid), zoology, astronomy, geology, physics, chemistry, botany (descriptive). From the first, they had apparatus for chemistry and a fine collection of stones and other specimens for geology. The second semester of fourth year was devoted to review of the common branches as every one was obliged to obtain a teacher's certificate before graduation. Latin was introduced in 1896. In 1910 a commercial course became part of the curriculum and the teachers' course was no longer made compulsory.<sup>74</sup>

In the typical high school taught by this community the course of required subjects forty years ago was as follows:

Religion, 4 years	Algebra, 2 years	Chemistry, 1 year
English, 4 years	Geometry, 2 years	Botany, ½ year
Latin, 4 years	Bookkeeping, 2 years	Geology, ½ year
History, 2 years	Physics, 1 year	Civics, ½ year
Logic, ½ year	Astronomy, ½ year	Ethics, ½ year

<sup>71</sup> Mulkerins, *op. cit.*, 422 seq.

<sup>72</sup> *Catalogue of Catholic School Exhibit*, 9, 44, 45, 52; Thompson, *Diamond Jubilee of the Archdiocese of Chicago*, 449.

<sup>73</sup> Thompson, *Diamond Jubilee of the Archdiocese of Chicago*, 235.

<sup>74</sup> Unpublished MS.

Singing, drawing, expression and physical training classes were held twice a week for all. The classes in such high schools were small—generally only from eight to twelve in the third and fourth years—the subjects were well taught, and the girls loved the work. The members of one class had grown so fond of Latin when they reached the third year that they besought Sister to teach them Greek also. They even rather enjoyed the public examinations that were the necessary accompaniment of the last year's work.<sup>75</sup> The academy had an exceptionally fine museum of geological specimens, and with those to illustrate the recitation, the final examination in geology was oral.

While Father Damen and his Sisters were making such advances in Chicago the Sisters of St. Ursula were establishing academies in other growing cities of the state. The Ursulines, founded in Europe, arrived very early in America and became part of the American Catholic educational system when they opened an academy and day school in New Orleans in 1727.<sup>76</sup> They had come from France at the earnest solicitation of Sieur Jean-Baptiste le Moyne de Bienville, Governor of the French Province of Louisiana, and they were witnesses of the changes in the political control of the Territory. When finally the Territory was purchased they became citizens of the United States and were cordially invited to continue their work of education. Mr. Madison, writing for President Jefferson after the Louisiana Purchase, assures the Sisters that "no opportunity will be neglected of manifesting the real interest he takes in promoting the means of affording to the youth of this new portion of the American dominion a pious and useful education and of evincing the grateful sentiments due to those of all religious persuasions who so laudably devote themselves to its diffusion."<sup>77</sup>

From Louisiana the Sisters went to Ohio and Missouri, and from there in 1857 sent a colony to Springfield and in 1859 one to Alton, where an academy was opened.<sup>78</sup> In 1888 they took charge of another high school in Alton. This became the Marquette Central High School in 1927, which is owned and conducted by the Sisters, and which cares for the children of all the parishes of the city of Alton.<sup>79</sup>

The Franciscan Fathers were also introduced into Illinois

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>76</sup> *Catholic Church in the United States*, I, 7.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 458-62.

<sup>78</sup> Shea, *Catholic Church in the United States*, II, 627, 628; Burns, *Growth and Development of the Catholic Schools in the United States*, 55.

<sup>79</sup> Unpublished MS.



in 1857. They are an American foundation with a rather unique beginning. Two Swiss secular priests are responsible for the undertaking, and although at one time even the Master of Novices, who had been sent to them from Switzerland, lost heart and returned home, others joined and persevered, and have accomplished much good in the field of higher education.<sup>80</sup> By 1884 they had two colleges which included preparatory courses. One was St. Joseph's in Teutopolis, and the other St. Francis' College in Quincy.<sup>81</sup>

Mention has already been made of the French Canadian settlements in and around Bourbonnais in the country south of Chicago. Several unsuccessful early attempts were made to establish a Catholic French school in the town of Bourbonnais. In 1852 some Sisters of Mercy arrived, but left after two years of hard labor and privation; in 1856, a Mrs. Lambert taught a private school for boys and girls; and the next year the Sisters of the Holy Cross from South Bend, Indiana, took up the task, but in 1859 they too gave it up. In that year a district school for boys was built, and the Sisters of Notre Dame were brought from Montreal to take charge of it. They met with success, and in 1865 were able to move into their own convent and turn over the district school to the Clerics of St. Viator, who arrived in that year. The school was sold to this community of men by the school board for \$3,000, payable in teaching, but continued to be both public and parochial. Almost at once the latter became a commercial college; in 1868, it was a classical school; in 1871, a new stone structure was erected; and in 1874 a university charter was secured from the Illinois State Legislature. The Sisters continued to teach in the district school.<sup>82</sup>

St. Viator's College has prospered in spite of disasters in the form of fire and financial crises. Between 1874 and 1906 a group of large and well-equipped buildings with a beautiful chapel had been erected. All were lost in a fire in 1906. Modern buildings quickly replaced them, but again came devastation. In 1926 the gymnasium and dining hall were burned, but, with characteristic courage and energy the Fathers began immediately the task of remedying the loss.<sup>83</sup>

Meanwhile the Sisters developed their academy and established others. Their contribution to the high-school system of

<sup>80</sup> *Catholic Church in the United States*, II, 132.

<sup>81</sup> *Catholic Directory*, 1884, 219.

<sup>82</sup> Thompson, *Diamond Jubilee of the Archdiocese of Chicago*, 257 seq.

<sup>83</sup> *Annual Catalogue*, 1926-27.



Illinois has been remarkable. In 1927 they had in all twenty high schools in fourteen cities. Many of these, of course, are parochial high schools, some offer only one, two, or three years of academic work, and some are devoted entirely to commercial training, but they have a four-year course in ten of these schools, of which seven are private academies.<sup>84</sup>

Several of the communities that have been most active in the establishment of secondary schools came to Illinois the year before the outbreak of the Civil War. The Religious of the Society of the Sacred Heart (the Madames) are of special interest because while the other communities engaged here met the demand for higher education as it arose, this congregation had been founded in Paris in 1800 for the express purpose of instructing the daughters of the unfortunate noble families that had suffered during the Revolution. They had been so successful in training these young ladies, intellectually, morally, and physically, so as to prepare them "to do a woman's work in the world and be a blessing to society and an honor to the Church" that the bishop of St. Louis besought them to send some members to him. They came in 1820.<sup>85</sup>

In 1858 the Sisters of Mercy in Chicago converted their boarding school into a hospital, and the Madames, at the urgent request of the bishop, built an academy to take care of the "forty-six or more" girls who had been with the Sisters of Mercy. This "Seminary of the Sacred Heart" was ready to receive boarders and day pupils in 1860 and during forty-seven years was conducted most successfully. In 1907 the Sisters reluctantly removed their convent to the rapidly developing North Side, where they maintain two select schools for girls.<sup>86</sup> They are noted for imparting "not only solid and useful knowledge but the grace of manner and dignity of bearing which always distinguish the well-bred and highly educated woman."<sup>87</sup>

While the Madames were developing their schools another French community, the Brothers of the Christian Schools, was becoming widely known in the States and in 1861 entered the high-school field of Illinois. Members of the community had come to the United States in 1845, and before long found their way to the pioneer settlements where, in St. Louis, they opened

<sup>84</sup> *Directory of Catholic Colleges and Schools*, 267-76.

<sup>85</sup> *Catholic Church in the United States*, II, 445.

<sup>86</sup> Mulkerins, *op. cit.*, 420 seq.

<sup>87</sup> *New World*, April, 1900.

a school to which in 1853 they added a secondary department.<sup>88</sup> At that time the Brothers were not permitted by their rule to teach the classics, but through the joint request of Bishop Hughes of New York, Bishop Kenrick of St. Louis, and Bishop Purcell of Cincinnati, a concession was granted and they took complete charge of their high schools.<sup>89</sup> They soon established for themselves the reputation for accuracy and thoroughness that they have always maintained.<sup>90</sup>

In 1859 the zeal of the Brothers enabled them to accomplish the difficult journey from New York to Sante Fe, New Mexico, at the extreme west of the St. Louis District. Four Brothers and nine priests braved the dangers of the plain in a caravan, and in the autumn took possession of a building furnished with "five chairs, five mattresses, five blankets, two tables and benches, and a few worn-out carpets." This was on October 25. On November 9 they opened St. Michael's College for boarders, and in December they took day-pupils.<sup>91</sup> The normal imagination is scarcely equal to the task of grasping all that is hidden in that brief statement. When we recall that it was such men who came into the "wilds of Illinois" in 1861 we are not surprised at the success with which their educational endeavors have been met. The following incident manifests the esteem in which the Brothers are held. In 1888 St. Patrick's needed a new building and forthwith the sum of \$100,000 was contributed by subscription. When the corner stone was laid 15,000 Catholics marched in procession.<sup>92</sup> In those days, even for Chicago, that was a noteworthy demonstration.

Not only did the Church care for the children of French, German and Irish immigrants of the early days, but special schools have been founded at various times for those newly arrived from other European countries. The Church's work of Americanization has often been underrated.<sup>93</sup> Times without number has it happened that these people, altogether unfamiliar with the common language of the United States have become discouraged and, on one pretext or another, have kept their

<sup>88</sup> *Catholic Church in the United States*, I, 103, 104.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 8.

<sup>90</sup> Burns, *Growth and Development of the Catholic Schools in the United States*, 136-45. It is to the Brothers that we owe some of our earliest Catholic textbooks.

<sup>91</sup> *Catholic Church in the United States*, 107.

<sup>92</sup> Thompson, *Diamond Jubilee of the Archdiocese of Chicago*, 685.

<sup>93</sup> See Cannon, Cornelia James, "The Dissociated School," *Atlantic Monthly*, November, 1923. A peculiar and entirely unwarranted view of the relation of the private school to Americanism.

children out of public schools where they were at too great a disadvantage both in class and out of it, contrary to the thesis expressed in *The Americanization of Edward Bok*. The priests and sisters in the schools founded especially for these young people were able to make them understand the instruction given, and at the same time teach them the American language and infuse in them a respect for their adopted country and a love for its ideals.

Early in 1853 a company of Benedictine priests, true to the inspiration of their founder, came to the United States from Switzerland for the express purpose of engaging in pioneer educational work in the Middle West. Peculiarly enough, one of their first colleges was opened in a settlement of Irish immigrants.<sup>94</sup> The Order arrived in Chicago in the early sixties and the newcomers invited others to the field. From Latrobe, Pennsylvania, four of the Benedictines led by Reverend Nepomucene Jaeger arrived to take over the duties of attending to the Czechs of Chicago who were fast moving into the neighborhood of St. Procopius Church. The year 1935 marks the fiftieth anniversary of their advent. Owing to financial stress and the labor strike of 1886, two years elapsed before St. Procopius Abbey, the first Czech abbey in the United States, was constructed.

Informally then, and very humbly, yet courageously, classes in a few subjects were announced. A man destined to become identified with all the important projects undertaken by the community in the fifty years of its existence was appointed instructor and director of the school—Frater Procopius Neuzil, O. S. B. March 2, 1887, was the date on the calendar—the first day of what was to develop into what is now St. Procopius College. . . . later in the same year they applied for and secured a charter from the state which empowered them to award academic degrees.<sup>95</sup>

Thus was begun an institution which has had an excellent purpose and which has filled a great need. The curriculum of the high school was of the usual humanities type together with courses in the sciences. The Abbey was transferred to Lisle, Illinois, in 1914. Besides maintaining St. Procopius and caring from time to time for missions in Chicago and the vicinity, these Fathers conduct an efficient college in Peru.<sup>96</sup>

Shortly after the founding of St. Joseph's Priory, a com-

<sup>94</sup> *Catholic Church in the United States*, I, 63-71.

<sup>95</sup> *Procopian News*, March 1, 1935, 5.

<sup>96</sup> Thompson, *Diamond Jubilee of the Archdiocese of Chicago*, 455, 679; *Catholic Church in the United States*, 38-43.

munity of Franciscan Sisters came from Alleghany, New York, to Illinois. Arriving in 1863 they laid the foundation for St. Francis Academy in Joliet. In 1869 the institution was organized as a boarding and day school and in 1874 was chartered by the State. It offered four high-school courses—classical, scientific, arts and crafts, household arts and science. Since 1887, annual teachers' institutes have been held at the motherhouse in Joliet.<sup>97</sup> It is worthy of remark that from 1904 to 1915 the academy was closed to girls in order that all the energies of the community might be directed to the preparation of teachers for the schools.<sup>98</sup>

The Civil War retarded the growth of the Catholic schools for a time but at its close they increased rapidly. From Bavaria in 1869 came the Sisters of the Most Precious Blood to supply the German schools of the Middle West;<sup>99</sup> and from France the Brothers of Mary, who have borne a leading part in the high-school movement, principally by the developing of parochial high-school classes. Of the forty-three schools in charge of the Brothers in 1912, twenty-seven contained one or more high-school grades. In addition, they were conducting several fully equipped secondary schools. Their best known high school in Illinois is Spalding Institute of Peoria.

Shortly before the opening of the World's Fair the Sisters of Providence reached Chicago. These Sisters had traveled to Indiana in 1840, and at Terre Haute, in the depths of the forests, amid poverty, hardship and suffering, had shaped the beginnings of their well-known academic and collegiate institutions, namely, St. Mary-of-the-Woods. In Illinois for many years they conducted parochial schools and one regional high school. This last was opened in Chicago as a three-year parochial high school in 1889; in 1900 the fourth year was added, and the name of Providence Academy given to it. In 1922 the school was renamed Providence High School and listed with the regional high schools of Chicago.

Following upon the Order of Providence came the Ladies of Loretto. This community had been established in 1812 in Kentucky as a purely American foundation, by five young women from Maryland. They bought a tract of land, and two wretched floorless little huts for \$75 and a negro slave, and with their

<sup>97</sup> Thompson, *Diamond Jubilee of the Archdiocese of Chicago*, 293.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 708.

<sup>99</sup> Burns, *Growth and Development of the Catholic Schools in the United States*, 58, 59.

own hands repaired and remodeled the cabin that was to serve as convent, patched the leaky roof, made an attic sleeping room by placing a layer of boards across the upper joists, and put up a partition to divide the kitchen from the dining room. Their dining table was formed by nailing boards to a tree-stump which had been left standing within the structure. The "school" was subjected to improvement in like manner, and ere long pupils were flocking to this first convent school west of the Alleghany Mountains.<sup>100</sup>

Between 1812 and 1850 the Ladies of Loretto succeeded in establishing fifteen schools in the West. Before coming to Chicago they had established St. Mary's Acaedmy, Joliet, and St. Joseph's Academy, Cairo, which were flourishing in 1884. In 1892 they came to Chicago, in 1893 they opened a parochial high school and in 1897 erected a separate high-school building. They conformed their curriculum to that of the public high school as closely as possible and in 1897 were accredited to the Chicago Board of Education.

In recapitulation it seems well to indicate the high schools and academies existing in the state of Illinois in the year 1884. The institutions of non-parochial character in the Archdiocese of Chicago were:<sup>101</sup>

St. Ignatius Academy, Chicago, conducted by the Jesuits, for boys.

St. Viateur's College and Preparatory, Bourbonnais Grove, Kankakee County, conducted by the Congregation of St. Viateur, for boys.

St. Francis Xavier's Academy, Chicago, conducted by the Sisters of Mercy.

Seminary of the Sacred Heart, Chicago, conducted by the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, West Taylor and Throop Streets.

Academy of the Sacred Heart, Chicago, conducted by the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, 197 State Street.

Academy of the Immaculate Conception B. V. M., Chicago, conducted by Sisters of the Third Order of St. Dominic, 511 N. Franklin Street.

St. Patrick's Academy of the Sisters of Mercy, Chicago, Oakley and Park Avenues.

St. Joseph's Academy, Chicago, conducted by the Sisters of St. Benedict, Hill and Market Streets.

<sup>100</sup> Burns, *Principles, Origin and Establishment of the Catholic School System in the United States*, 226.

<sup>101</sup> *Catholic Directory*, 1884, 89, 90.



St. Joseph's Seminary, Kankakee, conducted by the Sisters of the Congregation of Notre Dame.

St. Angela's Academy, Morris, Grundy County, conducted by the Sisters of the Holy Cross.

Notre Dame Academy, Bourbonnais Grove, Kankakee County, conducted by the Sisters of the Congregation of Notre Dame.

St. Francis' Academy, Joliet, conducted by the Sisters of St. Francis.

Academy of St. Clement, Galena, conducted by the Sisters of the Third Order of St. Dominic.

Institute of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart, Washington Heights, conducted by the Sisters of Notre Dame.

Academy of St. Albertus, Waukegan, conducted by the Sisters of the Third Order of St. Dominic.

St. Mary's Academy, Joliet, conducted by the Ladies of Loretto.

The institutions of similar characterization for the Diocese of Alton were:<sup>102</sup>

St. Joseph's Ecclesiastical College, Teutopolis, Effingham County, conducted by the Franciscan Fathers, for boys.

St. Francis' College, Quincy, conducted by the Franciscan Fathers, for boys.

St. Joseph's Ursuline Academy, Springfield.

Ursuline Academy of the Holy Family, Alton.

Institute of the Immaculate Conception, conducted by the Sisters of Notre Dame, Belleville.

St. Joseph's Academy, Sisters of Loretto, Cairo.

St. Mary's Institute, Sisters of Notre Dame, Quincy.

St. Joseph's Academy, Sisters of St. Joseph, Waterloo.

St. Scholastica's Academy, Sisters of Notre Dame, Highland.

St. Joseph's Ursuline Academy, Litchfield.

St. Teresa's Ursuline Academy, Decatur.

The Diocese of Peoria had the following academies:<sup>103</sup>

Academy of St. Francis Xavier, Sisters of Mercy, Ottawa.

Academy of the Sacred Heart, Sisters of St. Joseph, Peoria.

Academy of the Sisters of St. Dominic, Bloomington.

Academy of the Ursuline Sisters (German), Bloomington.

Academy of the Sisters of St. Joseph, Peru.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 219, 221.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 398.



Academy of the Sisters of St. Benedict, Nauvoo.

Academy of St. Vincent, Sisters of Charity, La Salle.

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# Governor Thomas Dongan's Expansion Policy

## INTRODUCTION

Thomas Dongan was born in 1634 at Castletown, Kildare County, Ireland. He followed the profession of a soldier, entered the service of France and held rank as colonel under Louis XIV. When the English Parliament forced a breach between Charles II and the French monarch in 1677/8 all subjects of Great Britain serving under the French colors were ordered to return home.<sup>1</sup> Upon his return to England Colonel Dongan was commissioned by Charles II as a general officer in the English army, and in the same year was appointed lieutenant-governor of Tangier, which office he filled until 1680.<sup>2</sup> When Andros was recalled from the governorship of New York Dongan was commissioned in his stead, September 30, 1682.<sup>3</sup>

Dongan arrived in New York in late August of 1683. The times and circumstances to which he fell heir were far from auspicious. The province had passed through the ordeals which had occasioned the recall of Andros. All awaited the new Governor chosen by the Duke to remedy conditions. A devout Catholic, he was expected to be somewhat out of harmony with the Protestant community over which he was placed.

From the time of his arrival the history of New York is largely the history of Dongan himself. If a strong hand was needed, that need was adequately realized in the new Governor. His untiring zeal for the good of his royal master, his firm stand in the face of difficulties, his genial manner and Irish wit which conciliated all elements at home, and the sublime optimism which carried him on in spite of all difficulties abroad—all these qualities vindicate his position as the ablest of the colonial governors of New York. Possibly the most salient characteristic in his expansion policy was his conviction of the justice of his policy, a conviction so deep as to be at times intolerant, so naïve as to fail to appreciate the merits of his opponents' contentions.

In Governor Dongan must be recognized one of the greatest

<sup>1</sup> Kennedy, John M., *Thomas Dongan, Governor of New York (1682-1688)*, 15-16.

<sup>2</sup> Clarke, R. H., "Hon. Thomas Dongan, Governor of New York," *Catholic World*, IX:768.

<sup>3</sup> O'Callaghan, E. B., (ed.), *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, III:328. (Referred to hereafter as *N. Y. Col. Doc.*)

incumbents in the governmental office of New York. But admitting his greatness, we are forced to recognize one less admirable feature of his administration: his ruthless policy to extend the boundaries of his province by any means whatsoever—his policy of expansion which admitted no opposition and disregarded all contrary claims, a policy to which everything must, perforce, cede. If Dongan was the greatest of New York governors, he was neither the most considerate nor the most ethical in his official relations with neighboring provinces.

## I

## DIPLOMATIC ANTECEDENTS

During the excesses of the Puritan domination in England the people, forgetful of their old grievances against the monarchy, yearned for its restoration. A new generation was rising to which a restored monarchy seemed a panacea for the arbitrary rule of the Puritan government. A strong royalist sentiment had been growing apace and by 1659 the majority of Englishmen were convinced that in the monarchy lay their salvation. In the following year Charles II was welcomed to the throne.<sup>4</sup>

But Charles II proved to be quite different from the monarch the people had anticipated. Distantly related to Louis XIV of France, he had been educated with his brother James in the French court, had imbibed the principles of French absolutism, and had conceived a strong attachment to the Catholic Church. These tendencies soon made themselves felt in his reign and brought him into conflict with Parliament which retaliated by refusing him the money he desired. Such actions Charles could not brook, and he turned to Louis for aid. He did indeed receive assistance from this source, but only through the Treaty of Dover, 1670, whereby he was assured of an annuity of two hundred thousand pounds and troops in case of rebellion. In return Charles agreed to profess the Catholic faith and to aid Louis in his wars of aggrandizement against the Spanish and Dutch.<sup>5</sup>

Charles thus became a dependent of the French crown—a circumstance not without influence on his colonial policy. Louis knew well how to use the dependent Charles to his own advantage. In the Treaty of Breda, July, 1667, he induced the Eng-

<sup>4</sup> Trevelyan, George Macaulay, *England Under the Stuarts*, 292 seq.

<sup>5</sup> Stone, Thora G., *England under the Restoration 1660-1688*, 28-29.

lish monarch to relinquish to France his right to Acadia.<sup>6</sup>

As Duke of York, James was imbued with much of the reverential fear for Louis which had characterized his brother. But upon his accession to the throne in 1685, he assumed an attitude of comparative independence of French influence. In the Treaty of Whitehall which he concluded with Louis in November, 1686, whereby he bound himself to instruct his American colonies not to war with French subjects of Canada, he contrived to leave the deciding issue so vague as to feel himself little obligated.

When, upon the insistence of Louis, who was provoked by Dongan's policy in the Iroquois country, the discussions of the Treaty were protracted through the year 1687,<sup>7</sup> James waxed bolder and laid claim to the whole territory in dispute.<sup>8</sup>

The acquisition of New Netherlands from the Dutch in 1664 was probably in large part due to the far-sighted policy of the Chancellor of England, Lord Clarendon, whose daughter had been given in marriage to James, Duke of York. The presence of the Dutch colonies between New England and Virginia had long occasioned some measure of concern in England. Clarendon had long dreamed of acquiring the territory and of granting it by patent to James, the presumptive heir to the throne, thus laying the foundation for a future policy of Stuart absolutism in America.<sup>9</sup> Hence when in January, 1663/4, the States-General of Holland pressed Charles in the matter of a definite boundary line between New Netherlands and the English colonies,<sup>10</sup> a commission was appointed by the King with instructions looking to the reduction of the Dutch.<sup>11</sup> After the fall of New Netherlands, the territory was granted by charter to the Duke of York, March 12, 1663/4.<sup>12</sup>

According to this grant, James was given wide powers in his province. He did not come to America, but delegated his authority to a governor and a council. His first choice was Colonel Richard Nicolls.<sup>13</sup> Nicolls was a man of great tact and prudence who by his sympathy and understanding conciliated the Dutch residents of New York. Under him the "Duke's Laws" were

<sup>6</sup> Palfrey, John Gorham, *History of New England during the Stuart Dynasty*, II:441.

<sup>7</sup> *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, III:506-10.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, III:503.

<sup>9</sup> Winsor, Justin, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, III:387.

<sup>10</sup> *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, II:227.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, III:51.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, II:295.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, II:252.

compiled and promulgated, and peace and order established in the colony. Nicolls resigned his office in 1668,<sup>14</sup> and was succeeded by Francis Lovelace<sup>15</sup> during whose incumbency New York was retaken by the Dutch in 1673.

After the English reoccupation in 1674, Edmund Andros was commissioned as Governor.<sup>16</sup> His lack of tact and his headstrong aggressiveness raised a storm of protest. When he was recalled by James,<sup>17</sup> Thomas Dongan was appointed his successor.

Two distinct grants were made to James, the first in 1664 immediately after the conquest of New Netherlands, and the second after the English reoccupation in 1674. Both grants were identical. They conferred upon the Duke of York

All that part of the maine Land of New England beginning at a certain place called or known by the name of St Croix next adjoining to New Scotland in America and from thence extending along the Sea Coast unto a certain place called Petuaquine or Pemaquid and so up the River thereof to the furthest head of the same as it tendeth Northward and extending from thence to the River Kinebequi and so Upwards by the Shortest course to the River Canada Northward And also all that Island or Islands commonly called by the several name or names of Matawacks or Long Island situate and being towards the West of Cape Cod and the Narrow Higan-setts abutting upon the main land between the two Rivers there called or known by the several names of Connecticut and Hudsons River together also with the said River called Hudsons River and all the land from the West side of Connecticut to the East side of Delaware Bay and also all those several Islands called or known by the Names of Martin's Vinyard and Nantukes otherwise Nantuckett.<sup>18</sup>

This princely domain was so extensive that James detached New Jersey from his original grant and conferred it upon two favorites, Lord John Berkeley and Sir James Carteret.<sup>19</sup> Thus the province of New York, after the separation of the Jerseys, included all the land between the Connecticut and the Delaware Rivers together with Pemaquid, Long Island, and other islands along the New England coast. But the Duke claimed more territory than that included in these technical boundaries. Bas-

<sup>14</sup> Doyle, J. A., *English Colonies in America*, IV:162.

<sup>15</sup> *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, III:174.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, III:215.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, III:283-84.

<sup>18</sup> *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, II:295-96.

<sup>19</sup> Whitehead, William A., (ed.), *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New Jersey*, I:10. (Hereafter referred to as *N. J. Col. Doc.*) This grant to Berkeley and Carteret James confirmed after the reception of his second grant from his brother Charles. *Ibid.*, I:161, 163, 324.



ing his pretensions upon the assumption that Charles II had intended to convey to him all the territory comprised in New Netherlands before the conquest,<sup>20</sup> he laid claims to a portion of Pennsylvania, Delaware, Connecticut, and the country of the Iroquois abutting on the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence. This lust for the expansion of New York beyond the bounds of his grant was by no means an original or fixed policy with the Duke. It came about by slow process and was largely shaped by his governors. Beginning with Nicolls, his first governor in New York, it increased under succeeding incumbents until it found its greatest exponent in Dongan, 1683-1688. To Dongan belongs the credit of not only pursuing a policy of expansion intended to project New York far beyond its natural boundaries, but of converting James to that policy.

Four directions of expansion presented themselves to Governor Dongan:

1. Pennsylvania, the Susquehanna lands and the Iroquois country to the north and west.
2. The Jerseys and Delaware to the south.
3. Connecticut and Rhode Island to the east.
4. Pemaquid to the north.

His efforts in these directions form his policy of expansion.

## II

### PENNSYLVANIA

In June, 1680, William Penn petitioned Charles II for a tract of land "lying North of Maryland, on the East bounded with the Delaware River, on the West limited as Maryland is, and Northward to extend as far as plantable, which is altogether Indian."<sup>21</sup> Though the King favored the grant in lieu of the debt of sixteen thousand pounds owed to Penn's father, he consulted the representatives of Lord Baltimore who had claims in that region by reason of the charter of 1632,<sup>22</sup> and of the Duke of York, whose claim rested upon the fact that the territory in question had once been a part of New Netherlands.<sup>23</sup>

After much discussion arising from an insufficient knowledge

<sup>20</sup> Chitwood, Oliver Perry, *A History of Colonial America*, 212.

<sup>21</sup> Channing, Edward, *A History of the United States*, II:106.

<sup>22</sup> Macdonald, William, *Select Charters and Other Documents Illustrative of American History, 1606-1775*, 53.

<sup>23</sup> Winsor, *op. cit.*, III:447. In accordance with the Duke's claim to Pennsylvania, a court was established at Upland (Chester) and continued regular sessions from 1676 until it was dissolved in favor of Penn's Grant. "Record of Upland Court," *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, vol. VII.

of geography, the original proposal of Penn was modified to include

all that tract or parte of land in America . . . as the same is bounded on the East by Delaware River . . . the said lands to extend westward five degrees in longitude, to bee computed from the said Eastern Bounds, and the said lands to bee bounded on the North, by the beginning of the three and fortieth degree of Northern latitude, and on the South . . . by the beginning of the fortieth degree of Northerne latitude.<sup>24</sup>

The Attorney-General gave it as his opinion that the grant as outlined did not interfere with existing claims. It was accordingly approved and issued on March 4, 1680/1.<sup>25</sup>

When Penn arrived in his province in September, 1682, it was immediately evident that there was a conflict regarding the boundary. Interpreting the "beginning of the fortieth degree of Northern latitude" as the thirty-ninth, he built the city of Philadelphia upon territory which obviously belonged to Maryland but which was later awarded to him. His boundary on the north had been specified as "the beginning of the three and fortieth degree of Northern latitude." Logically, he should have accepted the forty-second degree of latitude as his northern boundary as he had accepted the thirty-ninth as his southern, but he decided to push his territory to the farthest limit, and early in 1683 he sent James Graham and William Haig as agents to Albany to open negotiations with the Indians for the purchase of the lands upon the Susquehanna River.<sup>26</sup>

When Dongan arrived in New York in late August of 1683, Graham and Haig were in the midst of their negotiations with the Indians.<sup>27</sup> The new Governor immediately took steps to check Penn's pretensions. He hurriedly installed his secretary and set the preliminary machinery in motion for the summoning of the assembly to be held in September. This done, he repaired to Albany where he arrived in early September, 1683.<sup>28</sup> Calling together his Albany commissioners, he instructed them to investigate to what extent Penn's purchase of the Susquehanna lands could prove injurious to the fur trade of the province. He then hurried back to New York (September 7, 1683) to assist at the opening of the assembly he had summoned.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Macdonald, *op. cit.*, 184-85.

<sup>25</sup> Winsor, *op. cit.*, III:477.

<sup>26</sup> Pound, Arthur, *The Penns of Pennsylvania and England*, 196.

<sup>27</sup> O'Callaghan, E. B., *Documentary History of the State of New York*, I:394. (Hereafter referred to as *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*)

<sup>28</sup> Winsor, *op. cit.*, III:404.

<sup>29</sup> *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, I:394.

The Albany commissioners acted with an alacrity worthy of their Governor. On the same day that Dongan departed for New York (September 7, 1683) they called the Cayuga and Onondaga Indians to a conference and probed them for the desired information. On the next day they transmitted their findings to the Governor, reporting as follows:

they that settle upon said River, will be much nearer to ye Indians then this Place, and consequently ye Indians more inclinable to goe there, where ye accomodations of a River is to be had, then (than) come by Land here as the said Indians did expresse, so yt by that meanss your honr may easily conjeecture, how advantageous it will be to his Royal highnesse Intrrest, and since your honr was desyreous to know our opinion of ye businesse, wee cannot juge, but that it will be Prejusiciall to his Royal highnesse Government but ye Espedient that is to be found for Preventing ye same, is Left to your honr Consideration.<sup>30</sup>

Dongan up to this time seems to have acted only in order to protect the New York fur trade, and had apparently no definite purpose of expanding beyond his legitimate boundaries by acquiring the Susquehanna lands. But the very definite hint of the commissioners that the land be added to the Duke's territory and a further letter from them, September 24, 1683, to the effect that the French "have endeavored to take away our trade by Peace mealls but this (Penn's purchase of the Susquehanna lands) will cutt it off at once,"<sup>31</sup> convinced him that the sole protection to the fur trade lay in the acquisition of the coveted territory.

Accordingly, the Albany commissioners called the Cayuga and Onondaga Sachems to the Albany Courthouse, September 26, 1683, and urged them by words and gifts not to sell their lands to Penn but to convey them to New York. This the Indians formally did—"in consideration hereof . . . signed and sealed these presents."<sup>32</sup>

The news of his success with the Indians surpassed Dongan's expectations, but he nevertheless entertained misgivings concerning the soundness of the transfer. It had been made by the Cayugas and Onondagas who claimed the territory by conquest from the Andastes,<sup>33</sup> but the Susquehanna lands lay also in the country of the Mohawks and he was therefore anxious to secure a confirmation from that tribe. Hence in October, 1683, he

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, I:394.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, I:395.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, I:397.

<sup>33</sup> Drake, Samuel G., *Biography and History of the Indians of North America from its First Discovery*, 10.

summoned them to Fort James in New York, wrung from them a confirmation of the Susquehanna grant,<sup>34</sup> and sent them home with an English naval flag as a present to assure their allegiance.<sup>35</sup>

He was now confident enough to disclose to Penn the strength of his position. This he did in a letter of October 22, 1683:

All business goes on here to great Satisfaction; the Sesquehannok River is given to me by the Indians by a second gift, about which you and I shall not fall out; I desire we may joyne heartily together to advance the Interest of my Master and your good Friend; I expect to hear from you how you would have me proceed.<sup>36</sup>

But Penn was not inclined to look upon the loss of the Susquehanna lands as a business "about which you and I shall not fall out." He sent two agents, Mr. Welch and Mr. Lloyd, as representatives to New York to remonstrate with Governor Dongan in April, 1684.<sup>37</sup> They reported:

Governor Penn complained of ye unkind usages and sinister dealings of the people of Albany who caused him to be put to a vast expense in bringing down the Indians and the desire of Govern Penn was that hath already bin expended may be valued and som consideration had to the loss of time and monies.<sup>38</sup>

To which Dongan replied that:

as for the charges Mr Penn had been at he had nothing to say to it, that they of Albany had suspition it is only to get away their trade and that Mr Penn hath land allready more than he can people these many yeares that the Indians have long since given over their land to this Goveramt and advised them to write over to the Duke about it.<sup>39</sup>

This closed the argument.

The conference with the delegates from Governor Penn caused Dongan to seek another confirmation of his title to the Susquehanna lands. He had secured the certification of three of the Five Nations, but, as they formed a confederacy, he feared lest his new acquisitions be attacked through the two remaining tribes. He was particularly desirous of obtaining a confirmation from the Iroquois Confederacy as a whole. Accordingly, he raised the question in the Great Council at Albany in August, 1684.<sup>40</sup> The Sachems representing the Five Nations

<sup>34</sup> *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, I:398-99.

<sup>35</sup> *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, IX:228.

<sup>36</sup> *Pennsylvania Archives*, I:80.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, I:85.

<sup>38</sup> *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, I:400.

<sup>39</sup> *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, I:400.

<sup>40</sup> *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, III:417-18.

confirmed the grant and solemnly called Governor Effingham of Virginia to witness that the Susquehanna lands were not sold to Penn but were conferred upon the Governor of New York.<sup>41</sup>

Dongan's efforts had thus far been eminently successful. He had obtained a grant to the Susquehanna lands and several confirmations of that grant; he had effectively blocked every move Penn had made; but he could well fear the influence of the Quaker proprietor at the English court. He realized the importance of guarding himself from that angle. Up to this time he was still uncertain concerning the attitude of the Duke towards his transactions and he had doubts as to how his anti-Penn policy would be received by the crown which had shown such partiality for Penn. He was not kept long in suspense. By a letter from Sir John Werden, Secretary to the Duke, written August 27, 1684, he was given official approbation, commended for the stand he had taken, and specifically advised to preserve the Duke's interest on the Susquehanna "that soe nothing more may goe away to Mr. Penn."<sup>42</sup> This approbation was repeated in the Instructions to Dongan as Royal Governor, May 29, 1686, after the accession of James II.<sup>43</sup>

Encouraged by these signs of approval, Dongan waxed bolder in his communications to the home government, deplored the very existence of Pennsylvania itself, and strongly urged its annexation to New York.

If Pennsylvania bee continued by Charter, running five degrees to the Westward it will take in most of the five Nations that lye to the Westward of Albany, and the whole Beaver and Peltry Trade of that Place, the consequence whereof will be the depopulation of this Government for the people must follow the Trade.<sup>44</sup>

I cannot believe that ever it was the Kings intention to grant away soe considerable a part of this government which has been so long appropriated to it and even the people think it as a part of themselves and would be much troubled at a separation of soe good and ancient neighbours that at first of their own free wills became soe and have ever since continued with such constancy to desire and maintain a mutual friendship and correspondence.<sup>45</sup>

I am now informed that the people of Pensilvania have had last year from the Indians, upwards of 200 packs of Beaver down to the Skonshill (Schuylkill) and will have more this as I have reason to believe, which if

<sup>41</sup> *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, I:402. Though this declaration was made by the Onondagas and Cayugas, it was understood to carry the approbation of the confederation as a whole.

<sup>42</sup> *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, III:350.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, III:373.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, III:393.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, III:394.



not prevented, his Maty must not expect this Governmt can maintain it self, besides that it will wholly depopulate both this Town and Albany.<sup>46</sup>

Dongan could have had little hope of the annexation of Pennsylvania to New York. He was more interested in protecting from Pennsylvania the territory acquired from the Indians. Hence he laid before his government, February 22, 1686/7, a plan to protect New York's new acquisition on the Susquehanna River and to determine upon a fixed boundary between northern Pennsylvania and these lands. The grant from the Indians was understood to include that territory drained by the Susquehanna River above Wyalusing Falls, which lay about 41°40'. Thus the Indians had specified it<sup>47</sup> and thus the Mayor and Council of New York had understood it.<sup>48</sup>

Dongan therefore moved "to have a line run from 41d and 40m in Delaware River to the Falls upon the Susquehanna, and let Mr. Pen keep all below that it would be sufficient for him, the bounds below it being conjectured to contain more than all England."<sup>49</sup> He likewise requested, for the protection of his new grant, to be permitted "to erect a Campagne Fort upon Delaware in 41d 40m; another upon the Susquehanna where his Maty shall think fit Mr. Pens bounds shall terminate."<sup>50</sup> In this he was seconded by an address of the Mayor and Common Council of New York to the King.<sup>51</sup>

The line 41°40' suggested by Dongan was well below "the beginning of the three and fortieth degree of northern latitude," regardless of how this was interpreted, Penn's influence was strong enough to prevent a settlement at that point, but it was not strong enough even years later to nullify Dongan's negotiations. For when he requested permission to open the question of the Susquehanna lands he was not allowed to send agents or even to write to the Iroquois for that purpose.<sup>52</sup>

Because of this Susquehanna controversy Penn is alleged to have carried his resentment against Dongan to such extremities as to have taken measures to procure his removal.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, III:416.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, III:418.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, III:425.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, III:394.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, III:425.

<sup>52</sup> Osgood, Herbert L., *The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century*, III:427.

<sup>53</sup> Dongan's removal is ascribed to so many 'enmities' that it is difficult to come to a conclusion on the point. Chalmers attributes it to the resentment of the Earl of Perth. *N. J. Col. Doc.*, I:485. By others, it is ascribed to Louis XIV because of the Iroquois controversy.

Rumors reached Dongan that Penn was laboring for his recall and he complained bitterly to the King, March 2, 1686/7.

Mr. Penn hath written that I was to be called home and I doe not doubt but would do all hee can to effect it, having noe great knidness for mee, because I did not consent to his having Susquehannah River.<sup>54</sup>

But he had accomplished his purpose. He had blocked the menace to the New York fur trade and extended the boundaries of the province beyond its technical limits. More than that, he had driven into the Iroquois territory a wedge which he would later use to advantage in securing the entire territory of the Five Nations. It was a signal triumph over Penn.

### III

#### DELAWARE

The territory of Delaware was specifically included within the boundary of Maryland by her charter of June, 1632.<sup>55</sup> Thus it was on Maryland soil that New Sweden rose in 1638,<sup>56</sup> and fell before the Dutch in 1655.<sup>57</sup> If at first Maryland took small notice of the Swedes and Dutch within her confines, it was because she looked "upon them both to be only traders and soe here today and gone tomorrow; there being no navigation or road betwixt the head of the Bay and Delaware, by which means the Marylanders could be informed of the proceedings of the Dutch and Swedes."<sup>58</sup> Soon after 1655, however, they began to protest vigorously against the presence of the Dutch on their lands<sup>59</sup> and a spirited little controversy arose between Maryland and New Netherlands,<sup>60</sup> which was settled only by the English conquest of 1664.

Upon the conquest of New Netherlands by the English, Nicolls commissioned Sir Robert Carr to reduce the Dutch in Delaware.<sup>61</sup> This Sir Robert did in such an intemperate manner that, having reduced the Dutch fort at New Amstel, he imprisoned the Dutch soldiers and sold them into servitude, rifled houses and confiscated property.<sup>62</sup> Nicolls, deploring these ex-

<sup>54</sup> *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, III:422.

<sup>55</sup> Macdonald, *op. cit.*, 53.

<sup>56</sup> *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, III:20.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, III:343.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, III:344.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, II:116.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, III:70.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, III:69, 345-46.

cesses, deposed Sir Robert Carr and placed Captain John Carr, his son, over the district.<sup>63</sup>

When the region conquered from the Dutch was granted to the Duke of York by his brother, Charles II, Delaware was not included in the patent. This appears to be a tacit admission of the rights of the Baltimores over the region. A much more tangible admission of these rights was a proposal of the Duke to buy off Baltimore's claims.<sup>64</sup> When this failed, the Duke, who had little concern for the niceties of territorial grants or boundaries, laid claim to Delaware<sup>65</sup> on the pretext that the spirit of his grant was intended to include all the territory comprised under New Netherlands and, despite his shadowy claim, maintained a semblance of government<sup>66</sup> in the region until it was acquired by Penn in 1682.

William Penn had designs upon Delaware. Uncertainty of an outlet to the sea within the bounds of his Pennsylvania grant (March, 1680/1) made him anxious to secure possession of Delaware.<sup>67</sup> He accordingly petitioned the Duke (June, 1681) for a grant to that territory but was summarily refused.<sup>68</sup> But some time later (August 24, 1682) the Duke relented ostensibly on account of his respect for the memory of Penn's father, and granted the desired patent,<sup>69</sup> withholding jurisdictionary power to govern the territory. Penn, however, proceeded as if such right had been conceded and incorporated Delaware into the Province of Pennsylvania by legislative act of 1682 as "The Three Lower Counties."

Dongan arrived in New York too late to enter an effective objection against the Duke's concession of Delaware to William Penn. Though he considered the grant a mistake on the part of the Duke, he made no immediate direct attack upon its transfer. Possibly he hoped that the withholding of jurisdictionary powers from Penn argued an early rescinding of the grant. Then too, he was astute enough to see that his designs upon Pennsylvania and New Jersey virtually included a protest against Delaware without specific mention of the latter.

<sup>63</sup> Fiske, John, *The Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America*, II:4.

<sup>64</sup> Broadhead, John Romain, *History of the State of New York, 1609-1691*, II; ch. 7.

<sup>65</sup> *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, III:327-39.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, III:113, 344, 345.

<sup>67</sup> Winsor, *op. cit.*, III:549.

<sup>68</sup> *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, III:290.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, V:603; Winsor, III:480. In 1683, the Duke of York received from his royal brother, despite the claim of Maryland, a patent to the Delaware lands. His grant to Penn antedated his own legal patent by one year.

With the accession of the Duke to the throne as James II, Dongan judged the time ripe for opening diplomatic hostilities upon Delaware. In the early summer months of 1685 through an address of his mayor of New York, he pointed out that

since his Majesty hath been pleased to separate Delaware and the two Jerseys from this his Government of New York this City hath apparently and extremely suffered in the diminution and loss of its trade, being thereby deprived of at least one third part thereof; and hath ever since much lesned and decayed both in number of Inhabitants, Rents and Buildings, and his Majesty in his revenue likewise suffers thereby.<sup>70</sup>

This was accompanied by a request that writs of *Quo Warranto* be served upon Penn's grant of Delaware.<sup>71</sup>

This was quite in accordance with James' plans. The policy of Stuart colonial absolutism had originated with Clarendon in 1663 and found ready sympathy with James II. He accordingly gave his *placet* to the writ of *Quo Warranto*.<sup>72</sup> But the writ found hard going and was never pressed to a successful issue.

As the slow months dragged on without the serving of the writ, and Dongan saw that Delaware was drawing away many inhabitants from New York as well as hindering the tobacco and peltry trade, he incorporated in his official report of February 22, 1686/7 a detailed account of his case against the loss of Delaware.<sup>73</sup>

It is probable that Dongan hardly expected and surely did not receive a favorable answer to his plea. All his efforts were unavailing and he tacitly admitted defeat when on September 8, 1687, in requesting the King to urge the colonies to lend assistance to his anti-French policy, he implied that Delaware was now a part of Pennsylvania.<sup>74</sup>

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(To be continued in October number)

<sup>70</sup> *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, III:361.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, III:362.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, III:393.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, III:477.

## A Note on the Catholic Church Organization in Central Illinois

While the Vincentians, Raho and Parodi, were journeying up the Illinois River by steamboat in the spring of 1838, they obtained all available information concerning the Catholics of Meredosia, Morgan County, Beardstown, Cass County, Pekin, Tazewell County, Lacon, Marshall County and Hennepin, Putnam County, and Havana, Mason County.

Bishop Van de Velde stopped at Lacon, May 11, 1850. The following entries in the Diary are to the point:

"April 11, 1853: High Mass and Confirmation at La Salle. Sermon by Rev. Mr. Lynch. First Communion of the children. In the afternoon left for Hennepin with Rev. Mr. Kramer, C. M.

April 13, 1853: Visited Henry. Foundation laid of a new brick church, 76 by 35.

April 14, 1853: Visited Lacon. New frame church nearly finished.

May 4, 1853: Arrived Mr. O'Neill, formerly of the Diocese of New York and Philadelphia, later from Ireland, offered himself for the Diocese to remain at Mr. Carney's till informations are obtained."

Apparently it was this priest, who on June 10, 1852 noted in the parish records of Nauvoo that he "took charge of the congregation of Nauvoo, Fountain Green, Warsaw and McComb (Macomb)." Other sources of information indicate that he said Mass on one Sunday each month at St. Augustine and at Canton, Fulton County. From June 10, 1852 to May 30, 1853, he recorded 52 baptisms at Nauvoo. In the summer of 1853 it appears that Father O'Neill shifted his residence to Macomb where he remained until sometime in 1854;<sup>17</sup> in 1855 he was listed in the Catholic *Almanac* as assistant at St. Patrick's Church under Rev. Denis Dune, V. G. Rev. H. J. Reimbold who became pastor of Nauvoo, July 4, 1867, wrote: "Father Edward O'Neill is remembered as a man of great geniality and kindness of heart."

During the interim between the pastorates of Rev. Thomas Kennedy and Rev. Edward O'Neill and during the interval between the departure of O'Neill and the arrival of Rev. Patrick Meehan (June 1, 1853-January, 1854) Rev. J. G. Alleman, who

<sup>17</sup> A Rev. Edward O'Neill of the New York Diocese died September 6, 1862, but the evidence at hand is insufficient to prove or disprove his identity with the first pastor of Macomb, Illinois.



had transferred his residence to Rock Island in 1851, acted as temporary pastor of Nauvoo and the attached missions. On June 15-17, 1851, and from November 21, 1851 to May 30, 1853, Alleman recorded 18 baptisms at Nauvoo of which four were marked "Warsaw." John Sheridan, born December 19, 1852, of the parents John Sheridan and Johanna Middleton Sheridan is said to be still living. During the period June 27, 1853 to September 9, 1853, Alleman baptized five persons at Nauvoo. On June 15, 1853, Bishop Van de Velde blessed the church, St. James', Rock Island, which Alleman had built and confirmed 28; the only priest present on this occasion was Father Alleman. On June 16, 1853, after Mass and breakfast the Bishop left for Nauvoo, where on June 17, 1853, he said Mass, heard all the confessions and confirmed nineteen.

During the period, January 5, 1854 to October 1855, the pastor of Nauvoo was the Rev. Patrick Meehan, an amiable and exemplary priest, who as Father Reimbold states probably returned to Ireland from Nauvoo. Bishop Anthony O'Regan baptized five and confirmed a class at Nauvoo, October 3, 1855. Rev. Aloysius Hattenberger recorded one baptism October 7, 1855.

After a brief pastorate of about three weeks at St. Peter's Church, Chicago, Rev. Charles Schilling came to Nauvoo, November 18, 1855; from this date to April 6, 1867, he recorded 533 baptisms.<sup>18</sup>

Etienne Cabet, lawyer, author of *A Voyage into Icaria*, former leader of the Carbonari, who had served as attorney general and deputy of France, established a communistic colony at Nauvoo in 1849.<sup>19</sup> The Icarians founded industries and built

<sup>18</sup> Julia Beecher, born July 10, 1861, of Samuel and Rosa Beecher traced her ancestry to the distinguished Henry Ward Beecher. Sister Aloysia, a Benedictine nun, was a first cousin of Julia Beecher. During the sixties and seventies several other Beechers appear on the Nauvoo records: Anna Elizabeth, daughter of Lyman Beecher and Sara Bush Beecher; Julia Rose, daughter of Lyman Beecher and Margaret Weber Beecher; Rosa Beecher, daughter of Louis Beecher and Sara Bush Beecher; and Maria Beecher Ellerton.

<sup>19</sup> The Catholic parish at Nauvoo, St. Peter's and Paul's has a parochial school which has an historic interest; the building was erected as a boys' dormitory by Cabet, and stones taken from the Mormon Temple were employed in its construction. The Mormon Temple was burned by a vandal, October 10, 1848, and this work of destruction was completed by a cyclone, May 27, 1850. Nauvoo on the east bank of the Mississippi River, located on an eminence which commands a delightful prospect and a crescent-shaped circuit of the river touches on three sides the site of this old village. A number of landmarks and relics including Joseph Smith's mansion still remain and the Mormon Arsenal (Academy). Father Reim-

schools by means of which they sought to indoctrinate the children with communistic principles before the age of reason. Boys and girls became the wards of the communistic educators almost as soon as these babies had learned to talk. *Diane* by Katherine Holland Brown (published October, 1904) is a romance of the Icarians on the Mississippi which paints graphically life in Cabet's community and analyzes the causes which lead to the utter failure of an idealistic and impracticable venture. The disillusioned Cabet died in St. Louis, November 8, 1856, at the age of sixty-nine. Only a few of these communists sought the ministrations of the priests as the paucity of French names in the Nauvoo records testify.

Fountain Green, Hancock County, was laid out in 1835 by Jabes Beebe and Hiram Gonaugh Ferris. The old name, Lick Grove, was then altered to the present name which was suggested by a natural fountain or spring which flowed near an attractive green plaza. The little old village contains several dilapidated buildings, some of which are uninhabitable. Outside of the village about a mile is the site of the church built by Father St. Cyr, although this church is no longer in existence. The old cemetery which was situated near the old church is in a meadow; this abandoned God's acre contains the remains of relatives of Abraham Lincoln, the martyred President.<sup>20</sup>

bold lived in the house purchased from the Mormons, the Parley Pratt residence. Several tombstones were discovered in the rectory garden which had been employed as a private burial plot for deceased members of the Pratt family. A number of Mormons reside in Nauvoo at the present time; there are thrifty, industrious people who have earned the respect and good-will of their neighbors. The reorganized Church of Christ of the Latter Day Saints, the legal successor of the original Church founded in 1830, denounced polygamy and is quite distinct from the followers of Brigham Young in Utah. To quote the source approved by themselves: "They have" at Nauvoo "a fine brick church and a growing congregation. . . . The pastor of the local church is the caretaker of the church property and conducts visitors to the points of historical interest. . . . The headquarters of the church are now fully established in Independence, Missouri, where all the principal offices of the church are located." (S. A. Burgess, *The Early History of Nauvoo*). Fort Madison, the old mission of Father Alleman is nine miles north of Nauvoo. Nauvoo is situated on highway number 96. About one thousand people inhabit the little settlement which formerly numbered from twelve to twenty thousand according to the various estimates. In the old Catholic cemetery outside the village are the remains of two priests: Rev. H. J. Reimbold (1842-1915) and Rev. E. J. Knauff (Feb. 10, 1839-Dec. 31, 1907). The culture of the grape promoted by Father Alleman and by the German Catholic immigrants from the Rhine country in the fifties and by the Icarians is still in evidence.

<sup>20</sup> Mr. George C. Tyler lives in Fountain Green. His father, C. C. Tyler, wrote in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, April, 1915, an account of this branch of the Lincoln Family, Waldo Lincoln, in his volume, *History of the Lincoln Family*, Worcester, Mass., 1923. Some

Fountain Green was listed in the Catholic Directory in the seventies and was constantly referred to as a mission of Nauvoo. When the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad was constructed in the fifties, Tennessee and Macomb were linked by a convenient tie. The church at Tennessee, a village nine miles southeast of Fountain Green, traces its history back to 1857 when Mass was celebrated at Joseph Riley's, north of town. In 1859 a church was erected at Tennessee and the new parish gradually absorbed the remnants of the older parish at Fountain Green. About three miles from Fountain Green is Hardy's homestead which dates back to about 1833. In the forties, fifties and sixties Mass was frequently celebrated in this private home and here are treasured relics from the old church erected by Father St. Cyr. When the old chapel was dismantled the pews, candlesticks and other interesting souvenirs were deposited with Ivo Hardy.<sup>21</sup>

An outline of parish organizations in 1855 is presented by the *Directory* of 1856:

Fountain Green, Hancock County, St. Simon; frame, English, attended monthly from Nauvoo.

Nauvoo, Hancock County, St. Patrick's, brick, English and German. Rev. Patrick Meehan.

St. Augustine, Fulton County; St. Augustine. Attended one Sunday a month by Rev. P. Meehan.

Canton, Fulton County; church to be built (a remodelled Baptist church was used for Catholic worship in 1860). Attended one Sunday in the month from Macomb.

Macomb, McDonough County (church to be built). Rev. Patrick Meehan.

Lewiston, Fulton County; monthly from Macomb.

Oquawka, Henderson County (church built) occasionally from Burlington, Iowa.

Rock Island City, Rock Island County; St. James; stone. German and English. Service every other Sunday. Rev. J. G. Alleman.

Hampton, Rock Island County; monthly from Rock Island City.

Moline, Rock Island County; monthly from Rock Island City.

Warsaw, Hancock Island County; church to be built. Occasionally from Rock Island and Quincy.

of the data which deals with the Lincolns of Fountain Green and vicinity was contributed by Mrs. George Scheifley. Mr. and Mrs. George Schiefey live one mile from Tennessee, Illinois. James Bradford, son of Mordecai and Mary Mudd Lincoln died November 13, 1837, at Fountain Green. Abraham, James B. Mordecai, Jr. were sons of Mordecai Lincoln, an uncle of the President.

<sup>21</sup> Members of the present Hardy family are Mr. W. T. Doran, Galesburg, Illinois, Joseph I. Hardy, Leo C. Hardy, Earl Hardy and Miss Blanche Hardy.

## DIRECTORY OF 1858

Nauvoo, Hancock County; St. Patrick's. Rev. Chas. Schilling.

Macomb; attended from Nauvoo.

Canton; attended from Macomb.

Fountain Green, Hancock County; attended from Nauvoo.

Galesburg, Knox County; Rev. John O'Neill.

St. Augustine, Fulton County; attended from Galesburg.

Rock Island; Rev. James Fitzgibbon; Rev. J. G. Alleman, O. P.

Warsaw; attended from Rock Island.

Early Catholic residents of Galesburg and vicinity attended Mass at St. Augustine and there buried their dead. Massachusetts and New York contributed a large group to Catholic settlement at Galesburg. The Rev. John Christopher Fitnam came to Galesburg from the St. Louis Diocese, June 19, 1856. He was born in Cork, Ireland, November 12, 1825, and was ordained April 27, 1851, and held pastorates in Missouri, at Old Mines, St. Patrick's, St. Louis (1852) and St. Bridget's, St. Louis (1852-56). In 1856-57 Father Fitnam attended Galesburg and St. Augustine. He was succeeded as pastor of these two parish by Rev. John O'Neill (1857-1863) who built the first frame church at Galesburg. Before completion this building was destroyed by a cyclone and was not replaced until 1863-1864. Father O'Neill said Mass once a month at Monmouth.

Father Alleman organized the parishes of St. Stephen's, Hampton in 1855, and in the same year built a church in Moline, Illinois. For the year 1857, Father Culemans writes "he registered baptisms not only from Moline and Hampton, but also from Keithsburg, Mercer County; Geneseo, Henry County; Pekin, Tazewell County; Coal Valley, Rock Island County; Hennepin, Putnam County; Sheffield, Bureau County." Father Alleman left Rock Island in the fall of 1863, entered a hospital in St. Louis, and died there, 1865.

Rev. Philip Albrecht, pastor of Macomb, Warsaw and Oquawka resided at Macomb, 1861-1865, said Mass in the old house used as the parochial residence and attended St. Augustine once a month and visited Warsaw regularly. But in 1863 Oquawka, Henderson County, is listed as a mission of Nauvoo. Burlington, Iowa is considerably nearer to Oquawka than Nauvoo which accounts for the fact that Oquawka was for many years attached to Burlington, Iowa. Father Albrecht regularly attended Bushnell from Macomb, saying Mass in the homes of the Catholic residents of the out-mission.

Rev. John Larmer<sup>22</sup> (February 2, 1865-February 22, 1872) remodelled the old house at Macomb and built a church in 1867. The Directory of 1869 notes that the church at Macomb is finished and that Father John Larmer attends Hamilton, Hancock County, St. Augustine, Fulton County, and Tennessee, McDonough County. Rev. Philip Albrecht built the second church at St. Augustine in 1863. Father Larmer moved this church to its present position in Knox County, just six-tenths of a mile north of the old site now occupied by a dilapidated barn. The old cemetery is just a few hundred yards from the site of the first church, or a little over a half-mile south of the present church.

Rev. Charles Schilling of Nauvoo first said Mass in Bushnell, McDonough County in 1857 in the Hoing home. Bushnell is northeast of Macomb on the same railroad.<sup>23</sup>

"The congregation had no place to worship except at the home of members, and it was not an easy matter to get priests to the town to hold services. There was a church at Macomb, eleven miles away, and at Easter time, and on other special occasions the handcar was pressed into service or . . . the men would walk the distance and spend the day in devotion."<sup>24</sup>

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[Note.—These few pages may be considered as a short conclusion to the article by Father Cleary published in the preceding number of *MM-AMERICA*. Ed.]

<sup>22</sup> Rev. John Larmer of the Green Bay Diocese died at Chicago, Illinois, 1212 East 61 St. on February 21, 1910. In his declining years he was prevailed upon to commit to writing an account of his missionary experiences in western and southern Illinois. Incidentally Father Larmer included in this little booklet brief characterizations of his contemporaneous co-laborers in Illinois. Prior to his appointment to Macomb Father Larmer was stationed at Shawneetown in southern Illinois.

<sup>23</sup> Bushnell has the distinction of being the birthplace of the second bishop of Salt Lake City, Utah, the Most Reverend Joseph S. Glass, C. M., D. D., L. L. D. (1874-1926).

<sup>24</sup> *McDonough Democrat*, Recollections of Mary Litchendall Korn.



## Pierre De Smet: Frontier Missionary

Plans are afoot to erect a becoming memorial to the pathfinders and pioneers of the American West. The Congress of the United States has established the United States Territorial Expansion Commission "for the purpose of acquiring a suitable site and designing and constructing a permanent memorial facing the Mississippi River at Saint Louis." The action of Congress constitutes an endorsement of the efforts of the local advocates of the memorial, known as the Jefferson National-Expansion Memorial Association. The projected memorial, to borrow again the words of the Congressional resolution, is intended to commemorate "the acquisition of the western half of the United States and the achievements of President Jefferson, his aids who negotiated the Louisiana Purchase, the explorers, Lewis and Clark, and the hardy hunters, trappers, and frontiersmen, and the others who contributed to the territorial expansion of the United States."

The site chosen for the memorial is one unusually rich in historic association. There on February 15, 1764, Laclede's workmen began to fell the trees and build the cabins which formed the nucleus of the future city. Within the limits of the little eighteenth-century village stood the government house from which the jurisdiction of France and Spain became articulate to the inhabitants, and at which, on March 9, 1804, Captain Amos Stoddard, acting as the representative of both France and the United States, formally took possession of Upper Louisiana for France and then turned it over to the United States. From the little camp at Wood River, across the Mississippi from the village, Lewis and Clark led out their celebrated expedition to the Pacific. In the very center, as it were, of the site of the contemplated memorial is the "church block," set aside for ecclesiastical purposes by the founder of the village, and upon which stood the first cathedral west of the Mississippi River. Few areas of equal extent in the United States can claim a heritage so rich and colorful.

Not many will be inclined to question the merits of the great names associated with the heroic epic of westward expansion that will probably find a place in whatever type of memorial may be built. If the writer appears to enter the lists in the rôle of advocate he sincerely claims that he has been prompted thereto

solely by a sense of the historic fitness of events. Explorers, hunters, trappers and frontiersmen there undoubtedly were who made very tangible contributions to civilization in the western country. Their names are emblazoned on villages, streams and mountains throughout the vast region over which they roamed and labored. Yet the conquest of the material environment and the establishment of institutions of civic life constitute only one aspect of the development of civilization. The vast empire of spiritual forces entered just as truly, although at times perhaps less tangibly, into the making of a better life along the frontier.

Again, if the writer seems to have exercised a somewhat arbitrary judgment in selecting Father De Smet for special consideration among the names worthy of honor in the proposed memorial, he would offer as an explanation the fact that of all nineteenth-century missionaries in the Trans-Mississippi country, the Belgian Jesuit is undoubtedly the most widely known. Very probably greater missionaries than he worked in the western country—men who labored longer and suffered privations and hardships far beyond those that fell to De Smet to endure. Yet in his own way he did a unique work and left after him a tradition that the years have only served to enhance. To recount, ever so briefly, the deeds that won for him this unusual place in the history of the West is the purpose of this paper.

Father De Smet's primary and abiding interest—the work for which he left his native Belgium—was the preaching of the Gospel of Christ to the Indians. But like so many of his confreres in mission fields the world over, the pursuance of this endeavor resulted in very important contributions to the sum of human knowledge and the enrichment of human life. The extent of missionary contributions to geography, ethnology, climatology, astronomy, cartography and other sciences has long been acknowledged by all reputable historians of these sciences. That modern times have seen no shrinking of accomplishment in this regard has recently been brought home to us through the establishment of the Vatican Mission Museum and by the very substantial productions of contemporary missionaries, particularly by the Society of the Divine Word. The extent of these findings by the missionaries who labored in the Americas is only now beginning to be appreciated as a new generation of scholars direct their attention to the reconstruction of our early history.

De Smet and the West are terms indissolubly united. In any enumeration of the pioneers whose labors helped to make the Trans-Mississippi country an abode of civilization his name must

be accorded an honored place. The non-Catholic editors of his letters, Major Hiram Chittendon and A. T. Richardson,<sup>1</sup> remark that it is difficult to escape his trail in almost any part of the western country. As we have said he, of all nineteenth-century missionaries in the western country, has received the most generous recognition from historians. Few of these writers however have appreciated the full extent and importance of the contributions he made to our national development. All too often he passes across the pages of their volumes as a half-legendary figure with little to indicate his unique position among commonwealth builders.<sup>2</sup>

In attempting an evaluation of Father De Smet's achievements it must be kept in mind that his actual residence in the Far West occupied only a very few of the years of his ministry. During many of his most active years he resided at Saint Louis University at procurator and socius of the Missouri Province of his Order. Neither can he be considered the typical missionary of the Trans-Mississippi West in the nineteenth century—an honor which will probably have to be conceded to his confreres Point, Ponziglione and the scores of unsung priestly heroes, secular and regular, who labored quietly but zealously to preserve and propagate the Faith in the frontier areas. De Smet's connection with the missions was primarily in the capacity of founder and provider. It is idle to speculate on how successful a resident missionary he would have been. That was not his work, and during many years his other duties would have prevented it. But in the performance of the type of work for which he was so well suited De Smet achieved a place of distinction among the pathfinders of the American reaches.<sup>3</sup>

Arriving in America in 1820, he was a member of the band of pioneer Jesuits who left Whitemarsh, Maryland, in 1823 to found a new novitiate of the recently restored Society at Florissant, Missouri. A little log building, quickly constructed, became a training school from which went out in time a notable

<sup>1</sup> *Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean De Smet, S. J.*, 4 vols., New York, 1905.

<sup>2</sup> See W. Patrick Donnelly, S. J., "Father Pierre-Jean De Smet: United States Ambassador to the Indians," *Historical Records and Studies*, XXIV (1934), 7-142. The commented bibliography of Mr. Donnelly's study offers a critical evaluation of certain outstanding works on Western history in so far as they treat of missionary activities in general and those of Father De Smet in particular. In this regard pages 116-17 of the text are particularly enlightening.

<sup>3</sup> See Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., "Father De Smet—History Maker," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, VI (January-April, 1924), 168-80.

galaxy of missionary pioneers whose names are writ large in the epic of national expansion and of religious and cultural beginnings in the West.<sup>4</sup>

A year after their arrival in the West these Fathers and Brothers, under the direction of Father Charles Van Quickenborne, began at Florissant the first Indian school under Catholic auspices in what was then the United States—Saint Regis Seminary.<sup>5</sup> A few years later a school for Indian girls was opened in the nearby village by the Religious of the Sacred Heart under the direction of the Venerable Phillipine Duchesne.<sup>6</sup> Within a short time too the little group of Jesuits took charge of the old Saint Louis College which in 1832 was chartered by the Missouri legislature as Saint Louis University—the first university established west of the Mississippi River.<sup>7</sup>

But educational and parochial endeavors did not engage the entire attention of Father Van Quickenborne and his associates. Peter De Smet was quietly studying theology at Florissant and assisting by his great powers of physical endurance—a quality which stood him well in later years on the mission field—in the development of the frontier mission seminary of Saint Stanislaus. After his ordination to the priesthood in 1827 he was engaged for some years in duties connected with the university. In 1838 he set out for the West and founded Saint Joseph's Mission for the Pottawatomies at Council Bluffs. It was on this same trip that he went as far as the Sioux country to arrange a peace between that people and their neighbors, thereby inaugurating his great labors for peace among the Indians of the West for which he later became so justly famous.<sup>8</sup>

It was some two years later however, that De Smet began his missionary work among the Nez Percés and Flatheads of the Far Northwest with whom his subsequent endeavors are so closely associated. In this journey of 1840 he traversed nearly 5,000 miles and made his first acquaintance with the Rocky

<sup>4</sup> Gilbert J. Garraghan's *Saint Ferdinand de Florissant*, Chicago, 1923, devotes considerable space to the history of St. Ferdinand Seminary and its importance in the history of the Church in the Western country.

<sup>5</sup> See Gilbert J. Garraghan, "St. Regis Seminary—First Catholic Indian School (1823-1831)," *Catholic Historical Review*, IV (January, 1919), 452-78.

<sup>6</sup> The most complete treatment of the Indian school for girls will be found in Mother Louise Callan's *The Society of the Sacred Heart in the Mississippi Valley, Ms.*, St. Louis University Library, Ch. IV.

<sup>7</sup> Walter H. Hill, S. J., *History of St. Louis University*, St. Louis, 1879, and Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., "The Beginnings of St. Louis University," *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, I (January, 1919), 85-102.

<sup>8</sup> The services of Father De Smet as peacemaker have been treated in a scholarly manner by Donnelly, *op. cit.*



Mountain country. We cannot consider in detail the missionary foundations established by him in the Far West nor his many visits to Europe in the interests of the missions. His return to Saint Louis after his European journey of 1843 concluded his residence of any duration in the Far West. Thereafter his work for the western missions was carried on from Saint Louis University where he was occupied in important work for the Province, and by occasional visits to the mission country.

But for the remainder of his life Father De Smet continued to be associated in several important ways with the development of the West. His success in the rôle of peace-maker was too well established to permit his remaining in obscurity in the troubled years of American Indian relations that followed. The United States government came to look upon him as its most successful ambassador to the tribes, and he became in a very true sense a Minister-Extraordinary to the Red Men. In 1851 he attended the great Fort Laramie Council at the request of the Indian officials, and successfully concluded the negotiations between the Indians and the government. Passing over his other activities in behalf of harmony between the races, we may easily recognize his greatest peace mission as that of 1868 when he went alone into the camp of Sitting Bull where no other white man dared to venture.

De Smet has been called "an august figure in our national history," and a well known western historian has asserted that his name and those of his associates ought to be household words in America.<sup>9</sup> His labors in behalf of the evangelization of the Indians and his successful missions of peace to these people would alone entitle him to the respectful gratitude of posterity. Yet in still another way he deserve to rank among the very great benefactors of the American West. Few realize that he was one of the West's most effective publicists. The range of his writings is as broad as his travels and interests. His published volumes number close to half a score, and many of these were translated soon after publication into one or more languages—French, Dutch, Italian, German and Flemish.<sup>10</sup> But if an accurate inquiry could be made it would probably be found that his literary influence was exerted to an even greater degree through his hundreds of letters to friends and benefactors in

<sup>9</sup> Clarence W. Alvord, *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, I (July, 1918), 77.

<sup>10</sup> A list of these writings will be found in Chittendon and Richardson, *op. cit.*, I, 144-46.



America and especially in Europe. Many of these letters found publication in various periodicals of both continents.

While the majority of these letters were probably written with a view of enlisting support for the missions, they are not hurriedly composed appeals for assistance. Rather will they be found to abound in well written descriptions of the physical environment of the American West and in first-hand accounts of significant aspects of the history of that region. His writings form important contributions to the knowledge of the aboriginal customs and traditions, as well as of the flora and fauna of the country in which he labored or through which he passed.

Like his missionary brethren of seventeenth-century America, De Smet has left to posterity an interesting chapter in the cartography of the continent. In 1851 he was requested to prepare a map of the western country for the use of the government. This famous draft, prepared entirely from his personal observations made without scientific instruments, remained the most authentic source of geographical information for much of that locality until the government was able to undertake a methodical survey several years later. Though long ago superseded by many technically prepared maps, the observer is still impressed by its high degree of accuracy in general features and at times even in minute details. More satisfactory in detail but of much less inherent difficulty of execution were his maps of restricted areas, such as the Flathead country and the Yellowstone Park area, the latter antedating by a score of years the famous Washburn Expedition of 1870.

If the plans of the memorial association prevail the century-old "Old Cathedral" and the historic Court House which figured in the celebrated Dred Scott case will be preserved as material links with the West of the early nineteenth century. Thomas Jefferson, who set aside his finely-spun theories of constitutional interpretation to purchase the Louisiana Territory, will of course find a prominent place in the contemplated memorial. The Gallic founders of Saint Louis and the frontier-minded Benton will also perhaps be accorded fitting tribute there, along with many others who have deserved well of the West. Such a memorial would be singularly incomplete without the majestic figure of De Smet.

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## Notes and Comment

The twenty-eighth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held in Cincinnati, Ohio, toward the end of April. The first of a series of symposia beginning in the morning of April 25 pertained to Factors in the Development of the Old Northwest. "The Southern Element in the Leadership of the Old Northwest" was read by John D. Barnhart. The political servants who went north and their works were described. Besides these the South sent many church leaders into the opening frontier, who as circuit riders or missionaries, particularly Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian, inaugurated the camp-meeting program and the "great revival." No attempt was made to evaluate beyond mention the Catholic influence. The conclusion was reached that social institutions from the lowland South aided in the formation of a new social structure which was individualistic and democratic.

The program offered a variety of subjects each of which were elaborated in three or four papers: Religious Forces in Western History, Reconstruction, Development of Agriculture in the West, The Mississippi Valley in Diplomacy, Public Land Policies, Political Leadership Since the Civil War, The Development of American Humor, besides the conferences of the Teachers' Section and the National Council for Social Studies.

The presidential address was delivered after the dinner of the Association by Lester B. Shippee who grouped his ideas around the title "A Voice Crying?" Undoubtedly the remarks were intended to stimulate thought about historical teaching and writing, but to many they were a reiteration of the "philosophy of despair and disillusionment." It would be requiring too much of a strain on the memory to present an estimate of the address, and a criticism of its content without the speaker's exact words for reference very probably would eventuate in an injustice to him. While some of his hearers inclined to the opinion that Professor Shippee had fallen into step with the disciples of pessimism in regard to the present state of historical accuracy, and while others were inclined to view his paper as sharp criticism of teachers and writers who pervert history by personal bias or incorrect marshalling of data toward a preordained conclusion, still there were some who regarded the address in the light of a plea for a proper historical attitude toward past events. Expressions such as "this maelstrom we call life," and

"progress, whatever that may be," lay behind the first of the judgments. Instances were cited of arrangements of data so juxtaposed by writers that the reader of two treatments of the same historical materials is brought to opposing conclusions, for example, in one treatment Washington and his confreres produced a work comparable to that of Moses and the tables of the laws, and in another treatment the fathers of our country are branded as aristocratic and undemocratic.

The papers on Religious Forces in Western History were indicative of the new trend towards a complete evaluation of the American frontiers, or if one prefers, a widening of the field of research in missionary matters so as to include the work of the various Protestant sects. Professor J. Orin Oliphant of Bucknell University, who contributed the first paper on "The Advance of the United Presbyterians into Oregon," is allied with the movement occupying the attention of a limited group of scholars who are exploiting documents derived from the earlier Protestant preachers and ministers of the West. Probably the outstanding exponent in the Mid-West of the possibilities of obtaining a clearer knowledge of earlier times through these Protestant letters, is Professor William W. Sweet who has gathered thousands of documents at Chicago University. The project appears to be an extension of that of the study of Catholic missionary letters as essential historical sources and should be an inspiration to Catholic scholars to catalogue and make available the vast quantities of source materials in diocesan and parish archives. During this same meeting Father Raymond Corrigan of St. Louis University, Editor of *The Historical Bulletin*, exposed the generous and magnificent aid given toward the building of the Catholic Church in America by "Catholic Mission Aid Societies" of Europe.

The Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield, Illinois, have recently published Volume XXIII of the Illinois Historical Collections, which is Volume I, French Series, under the title *The French Foundations 1680-1693*. The editing is done by Theodore Calvin Pease and Raymond C. Werner, both of the University of Illinois. The French series begins with a presentation of the material available for the study of French Illinois between the years 1680 and 1693. This was a very interesting period of exploration and exploitation and one which has been thrown into a shadow by the research in the previous

Marquette and La Salle era, as is explained in the preface to the documents. Notable among the materials presented from a field replete with manuscripts is the De Gannes Memoir. There is likewise a copious amount of notorial documents. The pages of the volume are divided; the upper half is the edited French document, and the lower half the English translation. "The documents in question introduce the state's (Illinois) first business men and employers of labor on the distinctly financial and commercial side of their enterprise."

*Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society* for 1934, Publications 41, contains the proceedings of the annual meeting and the papers which were read. The latter were nicely diversified and treated of such characters and events as Oliver Pollock, Lincoln's New Salem, General James D. Henry, Old Jubilee College and Bishop Chase, Albert Taylor Bledsoe, and Early Architecture in Illinois. Incidentally, Jubilee College and the lands surrounding it have recently been indicated by the state of Illinois as one of the state parks. The College, famous as the foundation of the Anglican Bishop Chase, has long since ceased to function. This year marks the hundredth anniversary of the first Anglican establishment in Illinois.

*The Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* for April of this year should prove of particular interest to Chicagoans who are interested in the past of their city. Harry E. Pratt edits in this issue the reminiscences of John Dean Caton, Chicago's first lawyer, whose recollections pertain to the years 1833 and 1834 when there were 250 people in the newly incorporated town and when "there was not even a wagon track" and "every one drove where he pleased across the prairie from one building to another." Included in the issue are fourteen reproductions of the paintings of Lane K. Newberry nicely edited as "Portraits of Historic Spots in Illinois." Moreover, there is a "Newly Discovered Speech of Lincoln" edited by Ernest E. East.

*Minnesota History*, the quarterly of the Minnesota Historical Society, announces in its March, 1935, issue the progress of the Society's "significant editorial enterprise" (p. 47). This is no less than the "completion of a guide to the Society's collections of personal papers—that vast treasure house of letters, diaries, reminiscences, account books and other personal manuscript

records collected through more than eight long decades." These guide lists will be of untold value to scholars. In his report of his project Theodore C. Blegan unfolds a most encouraging story of historical progress. Elsewhere (p. 120) there is a long list of anniversary celebrations of church foundations.

The *Guide to the Personal Papers* followed shortly after the announcement and it quite lives up to expectations. It is compiled by Grace Lee Nute and Gertrude W. Ackermann, is carefully edited and indexed in 146 pages.

The *Canadian Historical Review* for March, 1935, begins with an illuminating survey of the provincial archives in Canada by George W. Brown. It is a frank statement of conditions, progress in collecting documents, and in cataloguing them in the whole Dominion. Readers of the Review and societies are stimulated to co-operate with the magazine in a great enterprise.

The *Washington Historical Quarterly* from Seattle carries in its number for April, 1935, a brief biography of Clarence B. Bagley written by Christine A. Neergaard. Clarence B. Bagley was one of the Illinoisans who left for the west. His became the twentieth family to settle in Seattle by 1860. He lived there until 1932 when he died in his eighty-eighth year, a noteworthy citizen, editor and collector of historical documents. He contributed very notably to Catholic historiography by editing *Early Catholic Missions in Old Oregon* which was reviewed in MID-AMERICA in a preceding (XVI) volume. In the same number will be found the opening article of "Documents Illustrating the Beginnings of the Presbyterian Advance into the Oregon Country," by J. Orin Oliphant.

The *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* has an "Index to the Materials for the Study of Ohio History" in the January, 1935, number. The index covers the materials presented in the preceding forty-three volumes of the Quarterly. The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society deserves much praise for the fine appearance of this number and for its content. The number for April is equally elaborate, amply illustrated and carefully edited. The article on "The Origin and Location of the Firelands of the Western Reserve" is followed by one on "Martin Baum," early citizen and philanthropist of Cincinnati. In the section devoted to archaeology another of the "Seven Prehistoric Sites in Northern Ohio" is presented by Emerson F. Greenman.



*The Louisiana Historical Quarterly* for April, 1935, is presented as the Henry Plauche Dart Memorial Number. It opens with a photograph of its former editor concerning whose death MID-AMERICA made comment in the preceding issue. There follows the publication of the addresses delivered *In Memoriam* on the occasion of the Commemorative Exercises held in honor of Mr. Dart. Then appears "The Career of Dubreuil in French Louisiana," the closing article of the life of study of a notable historian, lawyer and editor. In the same number the "Notes on the Legislation and Litigation Affecting the Title of Saint Louis Cathedral" (New Orleans), will be of particular interest to students of Catholic history.

*The Journal of Southern History* began its career in February. It is to be published as the quarterly of the Southern Historical Association and its guarantor is Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge. The managing editorship is in the hands of Wendell H. Stephenson of Louisiana State University. The first number in fine format is devoted in the main to the Civil War period and factors, with the "Journal of the First Kentucky Convention" edited in the section of Documents. The statement of origin and of objectives is found in its "Historical News and Notices." Editorially we welcome the newcomer and wish it a long life of service.

*The Historical Bulletin* for May, 1935, the review published for teachers and students of history at St. Louis University, has an excellent article on "The Legacy of Machiavelli" by Laurence K. Patterson and another on "Francisco de Florencia, S. J., 1619-1695: Our First Native-Born Priest" by Manuel Espinosa. Other pertinent short articles abound. Thomas F. O'Connor presents the third part of his descriptive bibliography, "The Church in Mid-America."

*Annals of the Province of the Sacred Heart, O. F. M.*, edited by Rev. Silas Barth, O. F. M., at St. Joseph's College, Westmont, Illinois, are brought down to the year 1886 in Number 13 (pp. 797-851). A map of the missions of the Franciscans in northern Wisconsin and a chart of their population during the years 1885 and 1886 are included.

*The Missouri Historical Review* in its April, 1935, number is

occupied with Mark Twain in its first two articles as a tribute to the humorist who would have been a hundred years old had he lived until 1935. Father Garraghan's *Chapters in Frontier History* is given fulsome praise in the section devoted to historical publications.

St. Procopius College, Lisle, Illinois, celebrated the Golden Jubilee of the arrival of the Benedictines in Chicago, March 2, 1885. Rev. Nepomucene Jaeger, O. S. B., came on that day from the Archabbey in Latrobe, Pennsylvania, to take charge of the parish of St. Procopius in Chicago. He was accompanied by three others who set about the task of building educational and charitable institutions and of adding another page to the glories of Benedictine history.

### Contributors

Sister Mary Evangela Henthorne, B. V. M., Ph. D., is the author of *"The Irish Catholic Colonization Association of the United States"* and is Dean in Mundelein College, Chicago.

Reverend Thomas Cleary, Ph. D., was introduced in the preceding number of MID-AMERICA. His present "Note" amplifies briefly his article in the April issue.

Reverend Henry Allain St. Paul, S. J., M. A., has been engaged in historical pursuits in St. Louis University, St. Louis.

Mr. Thomas F. O'Connor, M. A., a contributor to various historical journals, is Instructor in History in St. Louis University.

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Note. Owing to a very unfortunate oversight in the April, 1935, number of MID-AMERICA the name of the author of the article entitled "Nineteenth Century Jesuit Reductions in the United States" was printed as William P. Donnelly, S. J. His correct name is Joseph P. Donnelly, S. J.—Editor.

## Book Reviews

*R. E. Lee, a Biography.* By Douglas Southall Freeman. Scribners, New York, 1935. 4 volumes. pp. xviii+647; xi+621; xi+559; viii+594. \$15.00.

Within the past twenty years or so, one of the striking developments in the world of books has been the enthusiasm for biography. Authors and publishers have been busily supplying biographies in vast quantities, and the public has been absorbing them with apparently unflagging appetite. Historians, and readers interested in history, have always recognized the important place of biography in the larger fields of history. But when this astounding spate of biographies began to gush forth, historians were forced to scan it with very critical eyes. So many of the works purporting to be biography looked queer to men who had been taught to reverence objective truth, at least as an ideal, and to distrust too large an element of imagination in dealing with historical events and persons. So many of the new works in biography read like lawyers' briefs, for or against (perhaps more frequently against) the subject of the biography; so many of them read like guesses by astrologers or psychoanalysts; so many of them could have passed for good honest fiction. Today the historian approaches modern works of biography with his fingers crossed, and a "caveat emptor" attitude. Is the life of Whosis really a contribution to historical detail, or is it a savage debunking party, or a poetic version of what the author thinks the biographee might, could, would, or should have been?

Perhaps great biography is even harder to write than great history. The personal equation bobs up more vigorously when the historical subject is sharply narrowed to a person. Objectivity is always a difficult quality in the writing of history; but how can one even expect objectivity in a normal Georgian who writes about Sherman, or a normal Virginian who writes about Lee? In particular, soldiers, religious leaders, and politicians seem to arouse enthusiasms or hatreds that furnish more heat than light. Poets, college presidents, and big-butter-and-eggmen appear to be dealt with in a greater calm of soul. Yet even with these milder subjects there is forever the huge difficulty of finding out what they really were. It is a perilous and ardu-

ous task to dig a man out of the known facts of his life. The real stuff of humanity is evasive.

It is worth while keeping such ideas as these in mind when one is about to consider Mr. Freeman's biography of Lee. Mr. Freeman is a Virginian writing of a man whom Virginians almost worship; writing of a soldier, in a country where seventy years have not entirely stilled the echoes of the Civil War; writing of a man whose very simplicity made him an unusually baffling personality. Mr. Freeman set himself a hard task, and very evidently appreciated that it was a hard task. He gave nineteen years to accomplishing it. His preparation for the actual work of writing involved not merely the widest study of his subject, in manuscript and printed records, through living memories and the judgment of military experts, but also a deliberate schooling of his thoughts and emotions to ward off just such dangers of distorted vision of the truth. The evidence for the first part of that preparation is outlined in the forty pages of Acknowledgments and Select Critical Bibliography at the end of the fourth volume; and, for all its modesty of tone, it is massively impressive evidence. The second part of his preparation is nowhere formally mentioned in the work; but it speaks loudly from every sentence of the book. One is in serious danger of concluding the reading of this biography with as great an admiration for Mr. Freeman as for Robert E. Lee. Indeed, it might seem a fairly obvious thing to say, that it takes a person of Lee's moral and intellectual size to appreciate Lee.

There are so many qualities to admire in this biography that they cannot all even be touched upon in a brief review. But one cannot but note a few unusual combinations, such as these: an immense capacity for detail, in sifting evidence, in testing minute statements for their accuracy, an almost microscopic work of research and study, with a breadth of vision, a feeling for balance and proportion in assembling the multitudinous details, which almost never fails; great precision of reference and fullness of documentation, with a pleasant, easy narrative style, which makes even the analysis of battle plans attractive reading; a profound love for the subject of his biography, with the finest restraint in allowing it to color his statements; sympathy with the cause of the Confederacy, with scrupulous fairness of thought and language toward the Union side. You may disagree with many of Mr. Freeman's estimates and opinions in detail; but you are bound to respect them. And in his general estimate of Lee, I cannot see how any reader can fail to concur.

One illustration of the right proportions kept in this work is the placing of Lee's gifts as a soldier. Most persons who think of Lee are likely to think of him supremely, if not solely, as a soldier. From his young manhood to within five years of his death, his profession was that of a soldier. His place in history pre-eminently is that of the military leader of the Confederacy. Mr. Freeman properly devotes about three-fourths of the pages in his book to Lee's actions as a soldier. Yet when one has finished reading the book, Lee stands out as something much more than a soldier. His moral greatness dwarfs his military greatness. The five last years, as head of a little college at Lexington, Virginia, almost overtop in their nobility the glamorous years of the Civil War. His excellence as a soldier is made to rest, as in his case it should, upon his excellence as a man.

Robert E. Lee was a very great man. Mr. Freeman's biography recognizes him as such, with as much freedom from silly adulation as from silly debunking. There is no idealization here; but a high approximation to Othello's "naught extenuate, nor aught set down in malice." Lee's limitations, deficiencies, and faults are serenely recorded. He is not made out to be impeccable, impossibly perfect; but he is convincingly shown to have made superb and persevering efforts to rule his actions by lofty and generous principles; and his biographer does not hesitate, in a day of much irreligion, to make clear that Lee's Christian faith was the basis and bulwark of his principles of conduct.

This is a biography which the historian can accept with confidence and gratitude. It matches in its concept and execution the simplicity, dignity, and heroic truthfulness of its great subject. It portrays Lee in his due relation to the large scene in which he played so important a part; and, in doing that, it not merely gives us a full and valuable biography, but illuminates a period of American history. Lee grew out of and grew into that period. The mutual influence between Lee and his times is so handled in this book as to help us to understand both.

W. KANE

Loyola University, Chicago



*Old Peninsula Days: Tales and Sketches of the Door Peninsula.*  
By Hjalmar R. Holand. 5th revised edition. Pioneer Publishing Company, Ephraim, Wisconsin, 1935. pp. 292.

The history of the Green Bay region is typical of that of pioneer Wisconsin. French explorers visited the region in the seventeenth century: Nicolet, Radisson, Groseilliers, Perrot; Jesuit missionaries labored here among the Indian tribes: Al-louez, André, and Marquette. Then came the sturdy Norwegian settlers and the hard-working Belgian colonists, who battled with stern Nature in almost complete isolation from other colonists. Green Bay settlement was indeed on the water route from Quebec and Montreal to the Mississippi Valley; but the rock-ribbed Door Peninsula was for many years separated from the settlement by from seventy-five to one hundred miles of primeval forest. When the first mail route was established, the carrier was obliged at one point to wade in water up to his armpits, holding his mail bag aloft to keep it dry—when it did not, as occasionally, spill into the water. Door Peninsula has become a goal for summer tourists and visitors, such is the excellence of its climate in the hot months and the beauty of its combination of woodland, lake and cliff.

The story of the hardships endured by its first settlers is related by Mr. Holand with a literary charm that makes the book easy reading. The details have been gathered by him from the lips of those who actually took part in the events described. While the work is not documented history it has truth of type; and much of the material thus saved for the readers of Wisconsin history would otherwise have perished with mere oral tradition.

Some examples of these reliable traditions, derived by Mr. Holand from men close to the events, may be mentioned. The early missionaries used to erect large crosses near the Indian villages where they had their missions. Only one of these crosses remained into the nineteenth century. The Indian chief Simon Kahquados told Mr. Holand that he and his people on the Mink River used to say their prayers at the foot of a cross erected in the days of Father André, or at least preserved by descendants of his converts. As a monument to the ancient Potawatomi, the Door Peninsula Historical Society has had erected a beautiful totem pole in Peninsula State Park near the grave of this Chief Kahquados. A cut shows the cave from which the famous Indian chief Tecumseh, when trapped by Po-

tawatomi, mysteriously escaped, as told to Mr. Holand by the grandson of Chief Keetose, who knew Tecumseh. Even the story of a miraculous apparition of the Blessed Virgin to a Belgian girl, was told to Mr. Holand by a Sister who had worked with the girl, Sister Adèle, for many years. A chapel, erected in the Belgian Settlement, at the scene of this apparition, was left untouched when a terrible forest fire devastated the country all around the chapel in the year 1871. The name 'Door' is said to be a translation of the French 'Port des Morts' or Door of Death, which in turn was derived from the Indians who well knew the treacherous nature of the passage between the tip of the Peninsula and Washington Island.

WM. STETSON MERRILL

Oconomowoc, Wisconsin

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*Mediaeval History: Europe from the Fourth to the Sixteenth Century.* By Carl Stephenson. Harper and Brothers, New York, 1935. pp. 724+73. \$4.50.

A new general work on the mediaeval period is liable to knock with many misgivings at the sanctum of the historian. So plentiful have been the writings on the middle centuries and so plentiful the repudiations of past offerings that any new attempt in the field seems to herald the advent of a daring spirit or of an enthsusaist. This newest survey of the period by Professor Stephenson manifests boundless enthusiasm for his subject and has indeed very much merit. The author states in his preface: "This introductory sketch of Mediaeval history, being written primarily with a view to the needs of American college students and being based largely on standard works can have no revolutionary matter." But it has what is better, a correct interpretation in a general way of the miscolored ages. The admirable fulfilment of his purpose merits great praise for the author.

Professor Stephenson states clearly the basis of the claim which St. Peter has to be acknowledged as the first pope, by reason of the direct appointment of Christ Himself. The quotation is the promise to the apostle of this supreme power. The second part of the scriptural statement in which Christ delegates His own power to Peter, is not quoted. In fact the author still tends toward the favored idea that the primacy of Peter was only a sort of social evolution and not a direct institution

of Christ; but at least he avoids leaving the impression which invariably has followed this interpretation.

The discussion of the causes leading to the fall of the Western Empire is particularly well done, and the evaluation of the current philosophies and of the biological theory as inadequate explanations is noteworthy in these days when materialistic explanations of the collapse prevail. Monastic life and idealism receive fair sympathy, while the discussion of Ambrose, Augustine and Jerome is excellent. It seems there is unduly high praise meted out to Joinville's biography of St. Louis, King of France. The words of Joinville's journal pertaining to St. Louis' attitude toward the Jews require a different interpretation in view of the antecedents of the great king. Sympathetic, too, is the treatment of the various popes, especially Gregory VII and Innocent III, both of whom Professor Stephenson credits with sincerity of purpose. He thinks, however, that Gregory desired to dominate Germany and when Henry IV gave him the opportunity Gregory showed reluctance in foregoing it; yet the pope being a priest and approached as such sincerely by the penitent at Canossa, dared not fail in a priestly duty by refusing absolution, and thus really defeated his own personal ambition.

In matters of an ecclesiastical nature the work manifests a remarkable objectivity of treatment. There is no censure for the author in remarking that in points demanding an intimate Catholic insight there are some inadequacies, as in the question of the motivation for the first crusade, the distinction between political and spiritual power, and especially the real force and value of Scholasticism. The author is to be congratulated for placing emphasis upon the development of culture in all its phases and for the stimulating discussion of the rise of the universities. Mediaeval Latin which has been stock in hand for jokes and quips receives the notable apology (p. 443 et seq.), "a prevalent notion concerning the middle ages is that the Latin then used was bad Latin. What should be said is that mediaeval Latin is not classical—which is by no means the same as calling it bad." There are quotations of poetry and other literary forms and numerous reproductions of mediaeval art to aid in visualizing the historical narrative, particularly the Bayeux Tapestry with an explanation of its great signification as a picture of the social and economic life of the period.

The format of the book is really very attractive. There are eight carefully analyzed geneological tables and twelve chron-

ological charts, and outline maps and designs of figures. The author adds an excellent bibliography, not exhaustive but divided into two parts, one on suggested readings, the other an array of critical reading for each chapter. This reviewer is in sympathy with the scholarly work of Professor Carl Stephenson.

JOSEPH ROUBIK

Loyola University, Chicago

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*Blood-Drenched Altars.* By Francis Clement Kelly. Bruce Publishing Company, Milwaukee, 1935. pp. 502 (Illustrated). \$3.00.

Mexican history baffles most Anglo-Saxons, who are prone to fit all other peoples and political events into their own mental patterns. A population composed of Indians and descendants of Spanish colonists is utterly unlike our civic body in temperament and interests. An agricultural economy contrasts with our industrial life. A Latin ideology opposes our northern mind. A people on whom independence was thrust suddenly, with no training in self-government, faces our democratic commonwealth whose roots of popular sovereignty go back at least to 1607. A nation to which Protestantism is unintelligible amazes our groups that are steeped in tolerance and religious *laissez faire*.

To bridge these gaps and interpret this unusual subject requires a scholar who can, by training and sympathy as well as by long and deep immersion in their concerns, bring about a meeting of minds, a delineation of strange forms in familiar line and color. The attempt is here made by one who is fitted with the rare talents and opportunities that make any success possible. While he has not avoided minor faults, such as the occasional failure to correct an unimportant date (1518 for 1513 on page 154), he has certainly written a book that will be widely read and appreciated. Furthermore, the ample and thorough notes and citations might have been completed by an integrated bibliography.

The story aims to explain the present picture south of the Rio Grande, and for this reason the earlier elements are foreshortened, namely the Indian as he was when subdued by the Spaniards, and the following three hundred years of colonial times. Then appears the strange succession of episodes that ousted the Old World from rule in 1823, and the picture of im-

mature citizens being forced to go their own way in an independence for which they were hardly prepared.

With the revolution of Hidalgo the book swings into a vigorous tempo, and the title of the narrative finds its justification. The *Grito de Dolores* was the prelude to an unending series of bloody revolutions. First the Illuminati, then the Bourgeoisie, the Liberals, the Radicals, tore the country to tatters. The only permanent institution to stand through it all, the Church, is the constant sufferer in the struggle between the factions, now of Scottish Rite against Yorkist, now of greed against the I. W. W., lastly of the Reds against government, property, family, belief, worship. The people never have a part in the wars; they are fought over, robbed, bleeding and dying on the altars of hate. As the author puts it: "The revolutions, whatever their proclamations, ended by presenting victims for the sacrifices to greed in the capitol. And the victims were, as of old (in Aztec times), the people themselves. There were always blood-drenched altars. Someone phrased it: 'The revolution devours its offspring.'"

The book is history, not an apologetic nor a diatribe. There are undoubtedly those who will misjudge the work because of its popular title, but the story is told as calmly as such a story can be told. No statement lacks its supporting proof. The multitudinous authorities cited in the notes at the end of the volume are mines of information on the history of education and of politics; these authorities are invariably chosen from the lists of the Liberals, who could scarcely be labeled as partial toward the sympathies of the writer. He himself loves his subject, and it is only this affection that supports his optimism in the face of the prevalent and deep fear he finds everywhere for what that mystery, "The Thing," is next going to scatter over the land. *Blood-Drenched Altars* will be an important book for the historian, just as truly as it will be for the statesman who is today confronted with a knotty problem in the erstwhile Land of *mañana*.

*Mission San Carlos Borromeo (Carmelo), Father of the Missions.* By Zepherin Engelhardt, O. F. M. Santa Barbara Mission Press, 1934. pp. 273 (Illustrated).

The venerable hand of this Franciscan historian was stilled in death shortly after the composition of the present volume, and the editing was left to his colleague, Father Felix Pudlow-



ski, O. F. M. It is the answer to the last spoken word of the dying scholar: "How is the work getting on?" His work is finished and it is complete.

The study at hand is the thirteenth single volume account of separate missions. When the author had published his famous four volumes on the *Missions and Missionaries of California*, he set himself the devoted task of writing the story of each single one of the twenty-one establishments that reached from San Diego to Sonoma; but the advanced age of eighty-four put an end to his labors, though like the Spanish *conquistadores*, military and spiritual, whose picture he painted in master strokes, he died in action. He was at his desk two days before he expired.

Carmel, the mission San Carlos of the present study, is a magic word to everyone who has come in contact with its beautiful environs and has stopped in awe before the stone slab marking the burial place of the Founder of California, Father Junípero Serra. Carmel by the sea! Carmel, the Father of the Missions! Carmel, early hope, strength in youth, memory in the mature age of California! Carmel is the hearthstone of the Far West.

Carmel needs no poetic lines to fix its place in our history, and the narrator has shown fine taste in the simple manner whereby he pictures those sixty years of mission life. Accuracy is evident on every page. Citations, and appendix tables, furnish a guide for the reader as they do for him who would build this material into a work of broader scope.

There is a fine portrait of the Indian life about Monterey in Chapter XIII, and the earlier sketch of the mission system will be appreciated by all students of our earlier institutions. One might wish for more frequent translation of unusual Spanish terms. Then, too, the version of many diaries and manuscript histories cited here has been done into excellent English and could profitably be given mention. Yet this last book of a great author has a distinct value as original research, and, whatever the minor imperfections, he will long stand as a landmark in his branch of American historiography.

W. EUGENE SHIELDS

St. John's University, Toledo

*Tracts on Liberty in the Puritan Revolution: 1638-1647.* Edited with a commentary by William Haller. Columbia University Press, New York. 3 volumes. \$12.50.

Here are three volumes that will enlighten and help the scholar in English literature as well as in history and economics. The statement repeatedly is found in histories and essays that our capitalistic system has its roots and first impulse in Protestantism: rarely is any concrete proof offered for the statement. But in this work Professor William Haller does supply sources which give us a substantial beginning.

The second and third volumes of this work reproduce a series of tracts in facsimile of some of the leading pamphleteers, the Levellers, of the period between 1638 and 1647 when the Puritan Revolution had reached its height of achievement in the Commonwealth. These two volumes contain the tracts of such men as John Goodwin, John Lilburne, William Walwyn, Thomas Goodwin and others. Instead of merely reprinting in ordinary modern type the various tracts, the editor has done very wisely in reproducing them as they originally appeared in all the quaintness of type, capitals and spelling. This feature of the two volumes is very commendable. The reproduction is well done, clear and easy to read, and attractively paged. There is ample source material gathered here which is well worth preserving for practical work in reading and lecture.

In the first volume Professor Haller gives a brief but clear and interesting discussion of the tracts written by the above mentioned radicals during the Puritan Revolution. In seventeen short chapters the author deals with such topics as "New Lights and Divine Right," "The Law of Nature," "The Utopia of Free Speech and Free Trade," "Toleration and Laissez Faire," "The Rights of Man," and other similar, and for that time, quite revolutionary ideas. There are two appendices, the second of them, that on Milton, is especially noteworthy because it describes in detail his reputation and influence between 1643 and 1647. A scholarly and critical bibliography is added in respect to authorities who have written of this period. Finally besides a very detailed index, there is a list of carefully compiled notes to guide the reader of the facsimiles.

Speaking of the grim determination of these Levellers and pamphleteers who had met such a harsh treatment for their radical criticisms the author says on p. 13:

These men went to their trial, not expecting justice, but seeking publicity. The pain and disgrace which befell them on the pillory were as nothing compared to the satisfaction of enacting such a part on such a stage before such an audience.

And their ideas, some of them, were radical indeed. In their antagonism to any church organization they were not satisfied with mere criticism but they attempted to convince others, that all religion was but a pretext to cover covetousness. For the radicals reason alone and not any church could decide concerning a lighter or greater evil, and "the church therefore, has authority to exact no obedience contrary to individual reason."

It is clear from these tracts that the rebels in the Puritan Revolution sought all that has come to be linked up with the idea of democracy—free speech, free trade, popular resistance to despotism (because they advocated the social contract in politics which justifies resistance), tolerance based on utilitarian motives, for

They did not set out to seek freedom for individuals to be of any or of no religion, or for groups outside the church to form religious societies upon whatsoever doctrinal basis they chose . . . they retreated willingly to the Cromwellian compromise which tolerated only such quiet, respectable, law-abiding groups as would support the existing government.

Not less unique was their idea of natural law which to them was nothing more than public opinion, an idea that makes for a very radical democracy. Robinson, probably the most radical of these pamphleteers, envisaged a land of prosperity where capitalism dominates and spun out a theory that is almost a formula of the mercantilist ideal, while he enthusiastically advocated monopolies and the *laissez faire*. The spirit of the group is perhaps best epitomized in the author's interpretation of Brooke's attitude to the idealistic view of the brotherhood man, which Brooke was led to look for not in any religious uniformity, but in civil society.

Whatever may be the worth of these volumes to the scholar of English literature, to the historian their worth is probably greater. They throw new light on the Puritan Revolution; they are a proof of the slight hold Anglican Protestantism had on the people and the common lack of respect the people had for it; and they are an invaluable reference on the economic spirit of the seventeenth century when the economic motive entirely supplanted the religious motive in public life and society.

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*A History of the Legal Incorporation of Catholic Church Property in the United States (1784-1932).* By Patrick J. Dignan, Ph. D. P. J. Kenedy & Sons, New York, 1935. pp. vi+289. \$3.00.

The subject of Doctor Dignan's volume constitutes a painful chapter in the history of the Church in the United States. From the days of John Carroll's administration down to the recent controversy in the Diocese of Providence, the tenure of church property has been a thorny problem. About it at times have ranged rebellious laity and turbulent clerics, with schisms and interdicts frequently following in its wake. No other single problem operated so long to disturb the peace and harmony of the Catholic body.

The matter was complicated from the beginning of our national existence by the fact that the principle of religious freedom and religious equality written into the Federal Constitution did not at once find its way into the constitutions and jurisprudence of the several states. The early legislation of these commonwealths, where it provided at all for the legal existence of religious bodies, was usually framed with an utter disregard of the organization and government of the Catholic Church. The struggle for suitable legislation to protect its temporal possessions, begun in the early years of the Republic, has remained a persistent objective with the Church in the United States ever since. A second fundamental difficulty arose from the existence within the national union of a plurality of political entities known as the states, each jealously possessing the sovereignty over its internal affairs granted to it by the Constitution. From this it followed that in the process of attaining satisfactory legal tenure for its property holdings the Church was obliged to deal in turn with each and every one of the several states. The difficulties therefore have persisted over a disproportionately long series of years, frequently reopening in each commonwealth much of the controversy that had been experienced in the others.

Out of the welter of experiment and failure three forms of tenure gradually emerged, those namely known as fee simple, the corporation sole, and the corporation aggregate. The first two were open to very serious objections. The corporation aggregate, first provided for by the legislature of New York in 1863, makes the bishop, the vicar general, and the pastor *ex officio* members of the parish corporation, and grants to them the right to appoint two lay members to the board. This is the

nearest approximation under American law to the canonical concept of a parish as a *persona moralis non-collegialis*. In the states where it has been adopted troubles have been reduced to a minimum, and it is the form advocated for the United States by the decree of the Sacred Congregation of the Council in 1911.

The canonical and juridical aspects of the problem have been treated within the last few years in the works of Bartlett, Brown, Barrett, and Zollmann, but it is the distinctive merit of Dr. Dignan's study that the development and present status of the matter are presented from the historical rather than from the legal aspects. The canonist and lawyer cannot fail to derive from this volume a fuller appreciation of the real significance of the issues involved in the contests of the past or in those that may perchance arise in the future. The student of American church history will welcome the work as another in the growing series of studies interpreting the less tangible aspects of Catholic development in the United States.

The treatment is chronological, as was demanded by the author's purpose. The summary of the colonial background furnishes an indispensable setting for the study of the early years of the national period. Little valid objection can be found to the division of treatment for the subsequent decades. It was perhaps inevitable that in adhering to a chronological order of development, the unity of place should be to some degree sacrificed, and it is in this respect that some may be inclined to think that the treatment is at its weakest. The author's extensive and intelligent examination of the sources of the legal history and institutions of the various states is apparent throughout. The bibliography gives evidence of his careful combing of the literature of the field, although his collection of printed ecclesiastical sources is decidedly inferior to that of the legal sources. A study of the decrees of many of the early diocesan synods would have enriched his treatment of the respective localities. The Diocese of Bardstown is not mentioned, yet Coadjutor-Bishop Chabrat issued carefully prepared instructions concerning the administration of the temporalities of the parishes of that diocese. But after all this is at most a very minor fault in a very excellent work.

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*Modern Hispanic America.* Edited by A. Curtis Wilgus. The George Washington University Press, Washington, D. C., 1933. pp. 609. \$3.00.

*The Caribbean Area.* Edited by A. Curtis Wilgus. The George Washington University Press, Washington, D. C., 1934. pp. 589. \$3.00.

*Argentina, Brazil and Chile Since Independence.* Edited by A. Curtis Wilgus. The George Washington University Press, Washington, D. C., 1935. pp. 468. \$3.00.

The above are the first three volumes of Studies in Hispanic American Affairs from the Center of Inter-American Studies at George Washington University. The Studies and the Center are to a great extent owing for their existence to the dynamic personality of the editor of the Studies and the director of the Center, Professor A. Curtis Wilgus who has been aptly described by a confrere as "a combination of intelligence, goodwill and perpetual motion." The volumes at hand might justly be termed the Wilgus series. As director of the Center he has undertaken a project for the study of neighboring nations in the Americas upon a very appreciably broader basis than any hitherto attempted in the East.

The first of the volumes laid the foundation for the future program of an annual publication of the lectures delivered each year in the Summer Seminar Conference at George Washington University. Professor Wilgus opens the series with a discussion of the field of teaching and research in Hispanic American history and with an appeal for an "intellectual cooperation, understanding, and goodwill among the peoples of America." The setting given, the lectures proceed, in some cases general and familiar, and in other cases evidently touched up and annotated. It was not the purpose of the editor to present a complete bibliography, but rather to present in the modern pedagogical fashion various viewpoints of scholars. General aspects of life in the Hispanic Americas follow the customary outline, political, economic, social, religious, intellectual, literary; then comes the treatment of foreign relations and diplomacy. The two concluding chapters are keen summaries, one by James Alexander Robertson and the last by A. Curtis Wilgus.

The second of the volumes in similar vein and structure to the first gives the student an opportunity to hear other authorities and narrows the field of consideration to the immediate

neighbors of the United States. It requires a great amount of courage on the part of scholars to fasten in print their opinions of recent Hispanic American conditions which have been so noticeably affected by political changes and by industrial difficulties attendant upon our period of financial distress. But if the historian is to be of practical value in the solution of difficulties of the present by reason of his knowledge of antecedent events such courageous and frank presentations are necessary. This attitude gives justification for the lectures under review. Viewpoints respecting particular developments to the south along industrial, social, economic and international lines are clearly although not exhaustively presented in the elaboration of the general theme that the Caribbean area has been, is, and will remain of cardinal moment to the people of our country, and therefore something should be done about our attitude toward the problems it offers.

Further inspiration against a policy of defeatism with regard to South America continues in the third volume of the series. It becomes increasingly clear that the history of the Hispanic American group does not lie solely within colonial times, in fact Professor Wilgus inclines to the opinion (pp. 7-8) that colonial times were a "social and intellectual morass," leaving the nascent states a heritage of "chaotic colonial inexperience and disorganization." There are many who will disagree with his general approach statement, one in the very same book within a few pages of the editor's introduction.

A departure is made from the preceding volumes in regard to the number of writers or lecturers, for after two introductory chapters by the general editor and Professor Cleven, Argentina is allotted the space of ten lectures by J. Fred Rippey, Brazil is presented in eleven lectures by Percy Alvin Martin, and Chile is treated in ten lectures by Isaac Joslin Cox. Thus the experience and scholarship of three noted authorities from the East, the Mid-West and the Far West are brought together within the compass of one book. There is in conclusion a group of three appendices covering particular phases of A-B-C history: Rosas, British influences in Argentina, and Brazilian boundaries. All in all the book is a noteworthy political survey of some very difficult history and it will prove decidedly helpful to the teacher and student.

As part of a consistent policy of good will some expressions might readily be changed without detriment to historical accuracy and with a consideration for many Catholic readers.

Professor Wilgus in using the terms "the fanatically religious crusading zeal" of Spain (p. 4), certainly intends no offense, yet a generalization of the kind eliminates the motive of true religious zeal which animated many of the makers of Spanish America. Other generalizations in the introductory chapter have left the scholarly editor open to the accusation of hasty composition. "Education was in the hands of the clergy who taught only what they wished . . ." (p. 7) is not only weak as a statement, but it is untempered by the qualification that there was progress in the very fact that churchmen actually tried to teach and to elevate the indigines. Again, "in all the countries public offices were sold, officials were corrupt, and the church constantly influenced political affairs" (p. 6) is a rather unhandsome juxtaposition of ideas tending toward distorted impressions.

There are many excellent points in the book, each worthy of specific praise. The chapter by Professor Cleven on the "Political Heritage of Spanish America" is excellent. A number of new and interesting views are presented by the trio of lecturers who follow and whose works form the body of the book. The student will do well to consider these mature presentations and opinions.

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